GREECE & ROME

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GREECE & ROME

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GREECE AND ROME

VOL. III, NO. 9 MAY 1934

THE PUBLIC SCHOOL OF SPARTA

By T. RUTHERFORD HARLEY

A COUNTRY probably gets the system of education it deserves. But lucky is that country where education is a natural growth and a tradition rather than the clean-cut system of an expert. Sparta very clearly followed a very ancient tradition—very ancient and very novel, as Xenophon says: παλαιοὶ ὄντες ἔτι καὶ νῦν τοῖς ἄλλοις καινότατοί εἰσι—'new ideals' in education are usually the oldest.

At the same time, noble and ancient and successful as the system may have been, it was clearly a matter of necessity. Sparta had no doubts about the object of her education: it was self-preservation. In our age of conflicting sentiments and sentimentalities anything so simple seems bound to be wrong. But had Sparta any alternative?

Let me first consider briefly an important aspect of the history of this strange people and the problems with which they were faced.

An offshoot of the Dorian migrations from the North, a military brotherhood, following a patriarchal system, and devotees of Apollo, the wandering god, here, about 1000 B.C., we find them, in 'hollow Lacedaemon', the fertile plain of the lovely Eurotas. They have conquered the native population and forced them to be tillers of the soil to supply their needs. But still they are outnumbered, by perhaps twenty to one, and they are trapped in a hollow by formidable mountain ranges which bar their progress and cut them off from the world. Weakened by difficulties and dissensions, they are at last given unity and strength by Lycurgus, that mythical lawgiver whose name seems to recall the title of that Apollo they have left at Delphi, 'Lycoktonos', slayer of the wolf. And Xenophon gives the secret of his strength: 'He compelled the State as a whole to

practise all manly excellence.' A State struggling for survival cannot afford weaklings. They are a small band, smaller than some modern universities—8,000 in the fifth century, they have fallen to 1,000 by the time of Aristotle, and to 700 in 244 B.C. They are at least equalled in number by the Perioikoi, the Achaean landed gentry who do not share their rights, and vastly outnumbered by the Helot serfs, who are no barbarian slaves, but Greeks of sturdy and prolific stock, the rising tide of whose population is a constant menace. Hard task-masters to the conquered, they are still harder to themselves. They live always on the strain, 'holding as it were a wolf by the throat'. And it is their interest to conceal their weakness from their neighbours, who are puzzled by the paradox that the finest soldiers in the world are slow to come out to fight. This explains their tortuous policy, or lack of policy, throughout Greek history; their sloth before the Persian invasion, with their heroism at Thermopylae; the diffidence that followed the Persian Wars and encouraged the Athenian Empire; it explains their policy towards Argos and Elis, and the brutal Messenian and Helot wars. The capture of 200 picked Spartans in Sphakteria (425 B.C.) was a terrible blow. Yet even the sharp-witted Athenians seem hardly to have realized that, having delivered it, they had the end of Peloponnesian war in sight.

With this constant and secret peril of the Helots at home, it is small wonder that the Spartans are always in training, unable to spare a man, that they leave to others the dull mechanic arts of agriculture and business, which waste time and cramp and stiffen the body; no wonder that they are conservative, facing the risks of to-morrow in the strength of yesterday. A dour and silent folk, yet are they lovers, too, of all the powerful motions of the mind which affect the body, thought, and its mighty weapon memory. They have no use for the written word, contempt for the spoken, and they are masters of terse and cryptic expression. Γνῶθι σεαυτόν, know thyself; μηδὲν ἄγαν, a happy mean, these are Spartan as well as Delphic. Consider the speech of the Ephor Sthenelaidas at the Congress of Lacedaemon: 'The long speech of the Athenians I do not pretend to understand. They said a good deal in praise of

themselves, but nowhere denied that they are injuring our Allies and the Peloponnese. And yet if they behaved well against the Mede then, but ill towards us now, they deserve double punishment for having ceased to be good and for having become bad. . . . Vote, therefore, Lacedaemonians, for war, as the honour of Sparta demands.' Consider, too, the reply of the Spartan envoy to the question: 'In whose name do you come?' 'In my country's, if I succeed: in my own, if I fail.' And then the Spartan's definition of Athens: 'All things noble there.' And what was perhaps Leonidas' last battle order: 'Breakfast here; supper in Hades.'

Let me come now to their educational system, the method by which they sought to keep the State alive. Note that it is a duty of the State, and its main duty: it is not a matter of individual conscience and ideals. Yet education has become to the Spartans an ideal in itself: it is τὰ καλά, The Noble Profession, for which all, even Helots, strive as an end in itself, an ideal like medieval chivalry.

I take my information from Xenophon's *Polity of Lacedaemon*, with details from the *Hellenica* and Plutarch's *Lycurgus*.

A new-born child, if the elders decide that it is fit to be reared, is returned to its home and mother till the age of seven, though during the day, when it is old enough, it is taken by its father to the Pheiditia or Dining Clubs, there to sit on the floor, learn good manners and imbibe the Spartan spirit, as well as, perhaps, the dreadful Spartan broth.

'Other authorities [says Xenophon] begin by putting the children, as soon as they understand what is said to them, in the charge of tutors who are servants, and sending them to private schools to learn Grammar, Music, and physical exercises. They undermine their health with elaborate clothing and soften their feet with boots, while as to diet, they leave the unrestricted appetite to decide. But Lycurgus, so far from allowing the individual to put slaves over his children, appointed a man from among the highest officers of State to control them, called the Secretary of Education [Παιδόνομος]. He has absolute power to put the children to school, to supervise their conduct and to administer corporal punishment. He has under him a Staff of young masters called 'Rod-bearers' [Μαστιγόφοροι] who punish as occasion demands. A remarkable respect and obedience is the result. Instead of softening the boys' feet

with boots, he ordained that they should strengthen them by going barefoot, thinking that with this training they would walk uphill more easily, downhill more safely, sprint faster and jump both farther and higher. One suit for the year he decided should take the place of the enervating changes, training the body better to resist both heat and cold. Diet he left to the master's judgement: the stomach must never be overloaded and should not be without experience of short commons; for such training would make boys able to work without food, if need arose, and to hold out longer on an unchanging diet if ordered, easily facing plain food without jam or fancy dishes. This healthier regimen he considered would produce better and suppler frames than one that swelled them out with food.'

Elementary education ends at the age of seven. The Education Secretary then takes the boys and organizes them into Ilae, divisions of about sixty each. We might call them either separate schools, or houses within the one school of the State. Each house was under a master, called Eiren, a man of about twenty, of proved courage and morality. And each had a prefect, Bouagos, ready to take control in the absence of a master. The boys dined in the house of the Eiren, who used them as fags, as well as supervising their physical and intellectual development. The parents had to supply their boys with a plain meal. If they wanted extras, they had to hunt for them. Xenophon continues:

'Lycurgus, however, did not wish them to be pinched with hunger, but he refused to let them satisfy their needs without effort, requiring them to win for themselves [technical, military term!] occasional support for their appetites. It is a well-known fact that it was not from mere casualness that he inculcated this search for food. Obviously, their destiny for nocturnal raids required practice in skirmishing and ruse by day. Boys who want to catch anything must become scouts. Obviously, it was because he wanted to make boys more enterprising and self-sufficing, and he certainly trained better soldiers. It may seem curious that, if theft was considered meritorious, a boy who was caught at it was severely flogged. My answer is that, just as inefficiency is so punished in other branches of education, so the Spartans punish unsatisfactory thieving. The great ambition was to beat the record for stealing cheeses from the Temple of Artemis [surely, this is the story of the Great Rag, taken home to father by the elder son!]. He arranged a party to be ready

to whip them, but he wished to prove that brief pain may be followed by the pleasure of lasting glory. He showed, too, that where speed is needed, the slacker gets nothing but trouble. The boys must never be left without control [except presumably on their scouting expeditions], and if the Education Officer were called away, any citizen who chanced to be there must take charge, give them any instruction that might appeal to him, and punish offenders. This secured a greater modesty in boys, for like men they look up to their superiors. If no man happened to be present, the sharpest of the Prefects had to take control. And thus the boys were never without supervision.'

The boys do not live as young animals, however. After dinner the Housemaster will make them sing, to train their memories and emotions, songs of war and of heroic history, odes on the deaths of great men, laws and morals set to music; or he will ask them pointed and practical questions, to test power of thought and pithy logical expression. It is a sin to waste a word. Rhetoric is anathema. If any young Spartan brings it home from abroad, he is punished by the Ephors. Plutarch says they learnt to read, Isocrates denies it. In any case, it was little use. They learnt everything by heart. They knew Homer, and thought him a good poet, for an Ionian, but they preferred Tyrtaeus and Terpander. Having no need of arithmetic, and, like the late Head Master of Eton, seeing little moral value in it, few of them even learned to count. As to physical exercises, the Eiren had to keep an eye on the boys' fights which were encouraged, though scientific boxing and wrestling were not taught. The Spartans were amateurs and relied on strength, endurance, and speed. If defeated by a foreigner, they said they had been beaten not by a better man but by one who had learnt more tricks. Like us, they were devoted to ball games, and as names of victorious teams are on record, commemorated in stone, presumably they were games dependent on the team spirit. The boys were taught to ride (they rode together every year in the great procession in honour of Hyacinthus) and to swim daily in the Eurotas. No hot baths for them after the Gymnasium, no oils and scents. And for a bed a hurdle of reeds (softer perhaps than the historic planks at Christ's Hospital). They had to learn to take a ragging in

good part; but if it got beyond a joke, they were allowed to ask that it might stop. Pugnacious though they were, they did not fight over a jest. Battles were for rivalry in strength and speed. They had to learn also to take a flogging without fuss. If they complained to their parents they were flogged again. The severest test for the bigger boys was the Great Mêlée (Πλαταν-ιστάς), the national game which suggests partly the Eton Wall Game and partly American football, though without the wall and without the ball. It was played in a large field surrounded by streams and plane trees, and entered by bridges at opposite ends, where the goals were marked by statues, of Heracles at one end, of Lycurgus at the other. Opposing teams spent the night before a match in sacrifice, and after marching to the field tossed for ends. The object was to drive your opponents into the water at their own end. Scrumming, hacking, punching, biting, and even eye-gouging were allowed. We do not read of deaths occurring, however, as in the football game in America, where there were thirty fatal accidents last year. The final test of the ambitious ἔφηβος, the διαμαστίγωσις on the altar of Artemis Orthia, was perhaps voluntary, but it was death or fame. You went into training in the country, where presumably no one could hear your rudimentary howlings in practice. The altar might be covered with blood, but no sound must you utter. You might be left for dead, but if you survived, you were the greatest man of your year, βωμονίκης, worthy of a statue.

Was the origin of this savage rite human sacrifice? Was its object an ordeal of pain for the male on the altar of the female, of which anthropology gives us curious examples in many parts of the world?

But I seem to hear the archaeologist crying out in pain and saying with sarcasm: 'Have you preference for any particular millennium in your account of Spartan life; or do you wish to emulate Walter Pater with a pretty composite drawn from all periods?'

I would like to find the true picture of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., if it can be found. And when we turn to the important results of the excavation of the sanctuary of Artemis Orthia at Sparta (1906–10), we find that we must wash out some

of our more lurid colours. Διαμαστίγωσις must go; our conception of Artemis (or, at any rate, that Artemis interested in youth and named Orthia) may have to be changed; the picture of the boys' annual contests gets fuller and more liberal detail; and we find plenty of evidence of a native ceramic art developing in Laconia from the earliest times.

The strata of excavation give a time chart ranging from 1000 B.C. to A.D. 300 or 400. It is held that the records of pottery prove that Sparta from the earliest age had time for other arts than the art of war. We may hope that it was so, but it seems at least possible that pottery was an industry of skilled Perioikoi and Helots. Xenophon in the *Oeconomicus* says that sedentary arts and crafts were in ill repute in Greek cities as undermining the health of the body. They are hardly likely to have appealed to Spartiates.

As to the annual contest (Παιδικόν) of boys from ten to sixteen, we have now evidence of liberal training. In the most modern stratum of the deposits, built into the concrete foundations of the Roman theatre of the third century A.D., were found about 130 fragmentary votive stelae, and eight or nine statue bases, apparently of βωμονῖκαι. Taken by the builders from earlier structures, they are of various and uncertain dates, but are estimated to range from the fourth century B.C. to the third century A.D., though only fourteen appear to be earlier than the first century A.D. The stelae are dedicated to Orthia (or 'Artemis Orthia' in Hellenistic inscriptions, never 'Artemis') by the victors in the Παιδικόν or their relatives, and mostly have a socket for the prize they won, always an iron sickle. The contests mentioned are the καθθηρατόριον, a hunting game; the κελοῖα ('the sweet sound of the nimble tongue' one victor calls it; thought by H. J. Rose to be a contest of oratory—surely an odd thing at Sparta—and by A. M. Woodward to be some sort of musical contest); and the μῶα (= μοῦσα), another musical, or perhaps poetical, competition. At any rate, we have two contests in arts to one in athletics. The Prefects, βουαγοί, are here frequently mentioned. Much has been written of the significance of the iron sickle. It seems almost certain to be a peculiar offering to Orthia as the giver of fertility in Nature,

taking us back to an early time, perhaps when Spartans were tillers of the soil. Orthia was also the giver of fertility in man, and Pausanias says that her temple was near that of Eileithuia, the Goddess of Childbirth. His statement is supported by the excavations: offerings to Eileithuia are found in Orthia's temple, and some are dedicated to both goddesses together. Unlike Artemis, Orthia may seem to be the queen of the maternal instinct in nature. But still I think of her as the overseer of that swift growth to strong maturity in youth, the queen of all young animals, including schoolboys, and, like the lioness, rough with her cubs. There are possibly two allusions in the dedications to Διαμαστίγωσις, called on the stelae καρτερίας ἄγων, but neither they nor any of the statue bases can be dated earlier than the second century A.D. When we consider that all literary authorities for the rite are Hellenistic, and that Cicero is the first writer to mention it; when we realize the silence on the matter of all Greek authors of the great age, the chatty Herodotus, the severe Thucydides, and all the critics of Sparta in prose and verse, it seems impossible to believe it a practice of the Spartans at their best. Would Xenophon, that accomplished gentleman and sportsman, have sent his sons to such a school, or if he had, would he have omitted to mention so startling a feature of the curriculum, though giving prominence to the Cheese Race?

When the decayed Lycurgeian institutions were revived in 230 B.C., the Flogging Ordeal may very likely have been invented as part of that attempt to force back the spirit of the 'good old days'. Reaction from degeneracy runs to extremes. The rite may in part explain the popularity of Sparta under the Flavian Emperors. The Spartans were perhaps canny enough to see what would attract visitors from the rich Roman world, and the theatre was built for their accommodation eventually. It is often in luxurious and decaying civilizations that a sadistic delight in pain is to be observed. Roman Stoicism on the other hand, from the earliest times, looked at the matter differently, and even Cicero, far from a convinced Stoic, writes wistfully, if shrinkingly, of the triumph of the Spartan boys over pain. If boys can face death thus, why not men? And

Roman Stoicism rather than Roman sadism seems in line with the true Spartan tradition. Nor are we out of sympathy. Few things in the war stir the imagination more than the memories of Jack Cornwall or Nurse Cavell. Even the gentle Virgil feels that hardiness is the root of the Roman character. In the IXth *Aeneid* Numanus Remulus boasts of it as a quality of the native Italian stock in contrast to the supposed orientalism of the Trojan heroes. *Omne aevum ferro teritur*—almost a description of Spartan life, is it not?—though the phrase *versa hasta* suggests a contrast between the knightly Spartiates and the amateur yeomen soldiery whose greatness made Rome great and whose decay sapped her life blood. And the hardening of babies in the cold suggests the infant training of Plato's guardians.

Let us gladly forget about Διαμαστίγωσις then, and leap back over the centuries to Xenophon once more. We note that, according to him, there were sufficient hard knocks to satisfy the greediest Spartan boy.

Professor Rose gives the following account of what I have called the Cheese Race: you had to rush to the altar and try to seize the cheese under a hail of blows from a defending party armed with sticks (rather like the old Christmas game of snatching raisins, or sixpences, from a dish of burning brandy!). Plutarch recalls an incident in the Persian Wars: as Pausanias was sacrificing before Plataea, certain Lydians came upon him and were whipped and beaten off by him and his staff. In memory of which occasion, says Plutarch, the Spartans celebrate τὰς πληγὰς τῶν ἐφήβων. If this is true, the game becomes an anticipation, comically inverted, of the apocryphal story of Waterloo and the Eton playing-fields.

Though these schools were for the sons of Peers (Ὅμοιοι), i.e. those who paid their subscriptions in kind to the Clubs (not a difficult thing, as the Helots produced the food and the family allotments were rarely alienated before the Spartan decline), the Spartans were not exclusive. Sons of foreigners were admitted, provided that their fees were paid. Athens always had a strong philo-Laconian element, and Xenophon sent both his sons to board at Sparta. Such pupils were called τρόφιμοι, being treated as foster-children during their education. More

important, sons of Helots and Perioikoi might also be admitted, under the title of σύντροφοι or μόθακες, but their dues had to be paid by the Spartiate who adopted them for the time being. If these free-placers or foreign pupils did superlatively well, they might be enfranchised as full Spartiates, though normally a Helot returned to his agricultural labour after his education. Conversely, if a Spartiate boy was found wanting in the test of the national education and would not persevere, he was disfranchised. This liberal treatment of Helots may show a recognition of the importance of new blood in a privileged class, or perhaps a guilty conscience, for not only did the Helot population contain Spartiate bastards, but the kind-hearted country folk frequently brought up Spartiate infants exposed as unfit on the slopes of Taygetus. The worth of Helot blood, and the danger of Helot predominance is shown by the fact that Lysander among other distinguished Spartans was an enfranchised Mothax. Possibly, however, an old-fashioned Spartiate might have had some misgivings about Lysander.

It might be thought that the product of these secondary schools was a brainless, lawless bully. But Xenophon continues:

'When the age of 16 is reached, other States release their boys from the control of tutors and schoolmasters, and leave them to their own devices. Lycurgus took a very different view. Realizing that this is the age when conceit, bullying, wantonness, and love of pleasure begin to come to the surface, he imposed the heaviest possible tasks upon the boys and kept them as busy as could be. If any one shirked he was forbidden participation in the Noble Profession. And not only State Officers but even relatives were to see to it that shirkers were recognized as the debased currency of their country. The women would not look at them. They could never be chosen for a Ball Game. Furthermore, wishing to inspire modesty and respect, he made the lads walk along the streets in silence with their hands under the cloaks' (Is this the ancient counterpart of the pocket-less trousers at Uppingham?) 'looking straight to their front, without staring about them. He made it clear that the male sex is steadier and more sober than the female. Certainly among the Spartans you will find the men less talkative than statues, less inquisitive than bronzes, and more shy than the maiden in her chamber.'

Xenophon was probably thinking of the Athenian streets, full

of young hooligans, lounging about with nothing to do till they reached the age of eighteen and ephebic training. Aristophanes, too, another philo-Laconian, knew all about it. The reader will remember the passage at the end of the *Clouds*, where the Old Education (with its Spartan qualities, according to Aristophanes' conservative idealism) is arguing against newfangled intellectualist 'stunts'.

No side of Spartan culture illustrated their ideas better than dancing, to which they were devoted. Ancient dancing was the controlled and artistic expression of emotion by the use of the whole body. The Spartan dances were in the form of massed gymnastics or drill, done to music, and, apart from great national festivals like the Gymnopaedia when the boys paraded, it must have been a constant discipline to mind as well as body. Music was provided by the cool and sedative notes of the flute, rather unexpectedly (or was it a thin, plaintive, soul-searching strain like the bagpipes? There were special dances for each form of gymnastic, even wrestling, and special tunes for military marches. And there was 'the war-dance imitating all the actions of battle', not unlike the old sword- and bayonet-drill that used to be done to music by English regiments, or the lance drill still done by surviving cavalry regiments. It might not be absurd even to suggest that the Spartan hoplites danced into battle. Every Spartan boy began to learn the war-dance when he was five. It was therefore part of the elementary education. These national dances and gymnastics (in which the girls often joined) provide a striking parallel to the massed physical training displays that are becoming more and more popular in Switzerland, Germany, and Italy, with some of the features of the British Army Tattoos.

At the age of sixteen school days were over; the boys joined the Syssitia, or men's clubs, and life became even more strenuous. They had to undergo an intensive training in controlled pugnacity to fit them for their Ephebate at eighteen, when they joined the Krypteia, the Secret Service or State Patrols of sinister fame.

THE GLASS OF THE GREEKS AND ROMANS

By D. B. HARDEN

IT is not long since it was commonly thought that the art of blowing glass was known for several thousand years before Christ. Certain Egyptian tomb-paintings of the twelfth dynasty (*c.* 2000 B.C.) and later, which really depict metal-workers blowing the flames of their furnace, were thought to represent glass-blowers. As a corollary, it has been said that not a few of the vessels of blown glass found on ancient sites in Greece and other Mediterranean countries belong to the Greek period. Such beliefs are quite incorrect. There is no evidence that the process of blowing glass was invented until about the time of Christ. Scientific excavation in Greece has proved beyond question that any fragments of glass vessels found there belong to Roman or later times; the tombs in Cyprus that contain Hellenistic or earlier pottery contain no blown glass, whereas in tombs of Roman date blown glass tends to displace pottery as funerary furniture; and similar observations have been made during scientific excavations in the other Mediterranean countries.

If, therefore, blown glass was unknown to the Greeks during their days of independence, we must look for some other type of glass that they were familiar with, for there are numerous references to glass vessels in the works of authors of the classical period.[1] Such passages must refer to vessels of glass made by the sand-core technique, a process well known in Egypt during the eighteenth dynasty, and probably invented there not long before that date (*c.* 1500 B.C.). The process involves the building up of a core of sand on a wooden or metal rod, and modelling the molten glass upon it. When the glass has cooled, the rod and the core of sand are removed. The method was costly and laborious, and was only suited for the manufacture of small vases and unguent-bottles. From the eighteenth dynasty

[1] e.g. Ar. *Acharnians*, 74 ἐπίνομεν | ἐξ ὑαλίνων ἐκπωμάτων, and Plato, *Timaeus* 61 B τό τε περὶ τὴν ὕαλον γένος ἅπαν ὅσα τε λίθων χυτὰ εἴλη καλεῖται.

onwards such glass was made in quantities in Egypt, and when, during the eighth and seventh centuries B.C., Phoenician traders were spreading Eastern products in Greek lands, these sand-core glasses were one of the types of merchandise they brought with them. Some of it they perhaps made themselves on the Syrian coast, the rest they acquired from Egypt. By the sixth century sand-core glasses are so common on Aegean sites that some of them may have been made locally, in Rhodes perhaps, or on the Greek mainland itself. But proof of this is lacking and we must not forget that the vessels are all small and easy to transport, and moreover that they are chiefly unguent-vessels such as would be suitable for carrying Eastern cosmetics to more westerly countries. Pl. VI *a* illustrates typical examples of sand-core vessels. They are of opaque glass of various colours and are usually decorated with threads of different colour to that of the background. These threads are trailed or spun on to the vase and marvered in flush by rolling the vase on a flat surface. Festoons are made by combing the threads one way, zigzags by combing in two directions.

The next technique of glass-making to attain popularity was that of pressing molten glass into an open mould. By this means shapes such as bowls, dishes, and cups, that were not suited to the sand-core process, were brought into the repertory of types that were at the disposal of the glass-maker. Probably the technique was invented at the same time as the sand-core method, to which it is very much akin. Neither demands such a high temperature in the molten glass for working purposes as does blowing. There are certain shapes amongst the glasses of the eighteenth and nineteenth dynasties, e.g. the cup on stem, which would be more readily made in a mould than on a sand-core. But however early it was invented, it did not attain any great popularity until Hellenistic times. Perhaps during the second, certainly during the first century B.C., bowls and dishes made by this process were prevalent in Egypt and had begun to be exported to other Mediterranean lands. These were made in fine translucent glass of various colours, some monochrome and some polychrome. The polychrome pieces include examples of many varieties of pattern which may

all be classed together under the general head of 'mosaic' glass. First and foremost is the 'millefiori' pattern. To make this the worker first fused together strips of glass of varied colours so that they formed in cross-section the likeness of a flower. The rod was then cut cross-wise into flat disks and these were laid side by side in the mould and again fused together. The result was a bowl made in 'millefiori' or 'thousand flowers' pattern. Among other varieties may be mentioned marbled glass, dappled glass, striped glass, and glass with internal threads. Pl. VI *b* shows examples of some of these techniques.

It was not long after mould-pressed ware became fashionable that some inventive genius discovered that glass, if kept in a fluid state at a high temperature, could be blown to almost any shape by skilful manipulation of a 'paraison' or bulb of glass on the end of a metal blow-pipe. It may be confidently assumed that the first discoverer of this technique was one of the makers of mould-pressed bowls, who found that by blowing the molten glass into his mould instead of pressing it in by hand he could make at the same time a better and an easier job of it. It was a short road thereafter that led, first to blowing glass into moulds that bore elaborate patterns, and then to blowing vessels at the end of the blow-pipe without the aid of a mould—in other words, to free-blown glass.

These developments must have occurred about the beginning of the Christian Era, and are probably due to workers on the Syrian coast. There is a group of mould-blown vases belonging to Syrian workshops of about that time many examples of which bear signatures of artists in Greek characters as part of the moulded design. The two best-known names are Ennion and Artas, and their vases have been found on both eastern and western Mediterranean sites. These Syrian craftsmen were undoubtedly amongst the very first makers of mould-blown glasses, and it is highly probable that one of their number was the inventor of the process.

By the beginning of the Roman Imperial period, then, three distinct processes of making vases were at the disposal of the glass-worker. The first and second, sand-core and mould-pressing, were stereotyped and inelastic and gave little scope

a

Sand-core glass. About 6th–4th century B.C.

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

b

Mould-pressed glass bowls. 1st century B.C. to 1st century A.D

By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

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for inventiveness in regard to shape or decoration. The third, free-blowing, was the very opposite, and it is not surprising that the two older methods were superseded by the new invention. The manufacture of sand-core soon died out. Archaizing examples copying the shape and decoration of sand-core ware occur at later periods, but they are really blown glasses made in imitation of the earlier technique. The manufacture of mosaic bowls was never abandoned, but after the second century A.D. such bowls are rare and unimportant, and the process lay more or less dormant until it was revived by Venetian workers at the time of the Renaissance.

Glass-blowing, on the other hand, speedily became one of the staple industries of the Empire, not only in Egypt and Syria, but in Italy and the western provinces also, particularly Gaul and the Rhineland. It was not long before Syrian and Alexandrian craftsmen migrated westwards and set up factories there in order to produce the glass on the spot and so save the cost and difficulty of transport. These factories soon became very flourishing, more particularly the Rhineland ones, and though they cannot have entirely dispensed with local labour, they must have kept continuous contact with the East by successive importations of Eastern workmen even up to the fourth century A.D. Only thus can the parallel development of shapes and techniques throughout the Empire be accounted for.

Though the main outlines of that development are fairly clear, the details have not yet been worked out with sufficient care and attention by archaeologists to enable us to date at all closely any but a very few types of Roman glass. That being so, it is of little use here to attempt an historical survey. It will be more suitable if we discuss the main techniques of manufacture and decoration of plain, blown glass, and by so doing give some indication of the achievements, which were in truth very great, of the Roman glass-blower.

The greater portion of Roman blown glass is plain, monochrome ware, tinted in various shades of blue-green or green. This colour is due to the iron-content in glass-sands, and varies in strength according to the quantity of iron present. By the second century A.D., if not before, workers had dis-

covered the secret of how to neutralize these green tints and produce colourless glass by the addition of manganese to the mixture, and at the same time they found that manganese in suitable proportions would also produce yellow and wine-coloured tints. Other colours, apart from those mentioned, were rarely used by Roman workers, but deep blues, coloured with copper or cobalt, and reds, coloured with copper, are occasionally found.

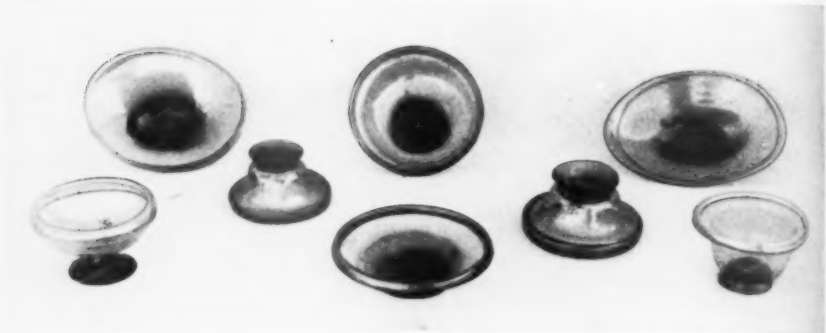
This ordinary glass was mass-produced in factories throughout the Empire. Certain centres such as Alexandria, the Syrian coast, and the Rhone and Rhine valleys were predominant and exported their products far and wide. But there were also, apparently, not a few minor centres of the industry, set up where natural deposits of glass-sand were available. In this connexion it is interesting to note that Mr. Thomas May found what he thought were traces of a glass factory at Wilderspool, Cheshire, a place that is less than ten miles in a direct line from St. Helens, which is one of the centres of the modern industry.

The work was, of course, all done by hand with the simplest tools, and the furnaces were heated by wood and charcoal. The workers were artisans with no chemical knowledge worthy of the name, and they worked on a system of trial and error. Long practice alone told them what quantities of ingredients were necessary for making glass of a certain quality and texture.

The shapes of glass that they made were many and various, for, after the invention of blowing, glass became one of the necessities of life, whereas previously it had been an expensive luxury. As is to be expected, the earliest shapes are the simplest, and decoration is at first rare and of a most elementary type. Later, shapes become more composite: elaborate base-rings and stems are added to bowls and flasks; twisted handles of manifold types are given to jugs and amphorae; and intricacies of the blower's art such as ring-vases and bottles with two or more compartments are not uncommon.

Glass was used for many household purposes, principally, no doubt, as table-ware, and for toilet-bottles and unguent-vases; but also for storage of wine, oil, and other liquids. Its widespread use as table-ware is attested by recent finds at

a



b

c

a–c. Portion of a hoard of glass table-ware from Karanis (Kôm Aushim), Fayûm. 3rd–5th century A.D.

By courtesy of the University of Michigan

Karanis, a small Romano-Egyptian town on the northern edge of the Fayûm in Egypt. There several large hoards of table-ware—bowls, flasks, and jugs—of yellow or green glass have been found in houses of the fourth century A.D. (Pl. VII *a–c*). In the cellars of one house no less than thirty-seven vessels of glass were found, some stored in jars, some propped up against the walls. These comprised:

8 oval dishes	2 jars
16 bowls	2 flasks
5 conical lamps	2 jugs
2 drinking cups	

and they would therefore form a very complete set of ware for dining-room use, not excluding the five lamp-glasses which gave light to the diners. We may also remember that the writers of the lives of the third-century emperors recount several changes of fashion which show that glass was the rival of gold on the tables of the rich. Alexander Severus, we read,[1] refused to use gold vessels but preferred 'pocula mediocria sed nitida', which evidently means glass. Gallienus, on the other hand 'bibit in aureis semper poculis, aspernatus vitrum'.[2]

Curiously enough, the flat dish is a very rare form in Roman glass, but bowls and cups (Pl. VIII *a*) of all shapes and sizes are frequent, and varieties of flasks and jugs (Pl. VIII *c*) are so numerous and individual in aspect that they almost defy classification. Heavy green bottles, either cylindrical or rectangular in section, were used in great numbers for transporting liquids. They were lighter than vessels of wood or metal and more durable than skins, and at the same time, being of thick glass, they were not very fragile if packed carefully and inserted in a plaited cover, like that of a modern eau-de-Cologne flask, so that they were convenient for transport purposes. Glass containers for unguents and toilet-preparations were also very popular in Roman times, just as they were in earlier days, and have been ever since. As glass is cheap, easy to clean, and not liable to quick corrosion by any chemical ingredients in toilet-

[1] Lampridius, *Life of Alex. Severus*, 34. 1.

[2] Trebellius Pollio, *Lives of the two Gallieni*, 17. 5.

preparations, it is far the best material for such containers, and this was soon realized by its makers. Roman toilet-bottles are usually of plain, simple shapes (Pl. VIII *d*), with a long neck and a drop-shaped or triangular body. Late examples in Syria often have basket-handles; but for the most part these vases are in essence useful rather than ornamental. Glass was also used for lamps, but that usage does not seem to have begun until about the fourth century A.D., though from then on it gains greater and greater popularity. Glass lamps are of various shapes. The earliest are either conical or stemmed cups, and they were used just like the archaizing type of oil-lamp hung in front of shrines in some modern churches. The glass was filled with water on which the oil floated, and the wick was supported by a metal holder or on a float. Such lamps would be set in a stand or hung in groups in a chandelier.

Finally, the use of glass as funerary furniture demands our attention. To the archaeologist this use must always seem to have been more important than it really was, for most of the complete specimens of ancient glass that are in our museums have been found in tombs. Yet little, if any, ancient glass was made solely for funerary use. Doubtless some of the cinerary urns which became so prevalent during the first and second century A.D., when the practice of cremation was the rule throughout the western Roman Empire, were expressly made for that purpose. But this does not apply to them all, for we find plain jars and common green cylindrical and rectangular glass bottles sometimes used to contain the ashes of the dead. As for the remainder of the grave-furniture, the flasks, jugs, bowls, and the rest that contained the food and drink deposited with the body for use after death—they were, of course, only some of the dead person's household goods which it was thought proper for him to carry with him to the future life.

It remains to consider the methods of decorating blown-glass vessels that were favoured by Roman workers. Three main techniques were in vogue:

1. Tooling the glass when warm.
2. Engraving the glass when cold.
3. Applying drawn glass to the vessel when both were warm.

a

b

c

d

a, c, d. Glass vessels from Cyprus (Cesnola collection). 1st–3rd century A.D.
By courtesy of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York

b. Cut-glass goblet from Cyprus. 2nd–3rd century A.D.
By courtesy of the Trustees of the British Museum

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Any two or all of these techniques might be combined on one vase, though as a rule, when the second was employed we do not find either the first or the third in conjunction with it.

1. *Tooling the glass when warm.* This was done with metal tools, either the pucellas or pair of pincers, or the reamer, a tool like a putty-knife with a flat blade and a pointed end. With the pucellas raised ridges or knobs could be made by pinching out portions of the vessel's walls, and indents by pressing on the glass with the closed tool. With the pointed end of the reamer ribs could be made by furrowing the glass. The pressure of the point causes glass to be displaced which forms a raised rib beside the furrow.

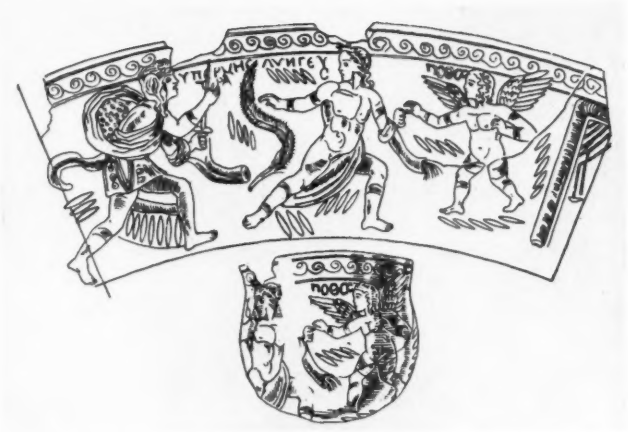
2. *Cutting the glass when cold.* This method of decoration was accomplished with the aid of a graving tool or 'diamond',[1] and a rotating wheel fed with water and corundum. The glass was first incised with the graving-tool until the requisite quantity, in the desired pattern, had been removed from the surface. The roughened parts were then smoothed and polished into facets with the wheel. Often, in elaborate patterns, the graving-tool was once more employed to add lines of shading or other decoration within the facets. On late vases the wheel was usually dispensed with and the pattern was left in the rough condition imparted to it by the graver. This method of decoration was borrowed by the glass-worker from the gem-cutter, and became very prevalent in the second century A.D., in the newly-invented colourless glass. Sometimes the worker was content with a pattern of grooves and facets (Pl. VIII *b*), at other times elaborate floral patterns were devised by him. And there are even in existence not a few bowls decorated with mythological or genre figure-scenes. In the British Museum, for instance, there is a fine bowl found at Merseburg in Saxony (probably looted from a Roman city by German warriors) which tells the story of Actaeon and Artemis: the names of the two protagonists are graven upon it in Greek characters. And there are bowls in Cologne and Rheims which

[1] That an actual diamond was used is questionable, although ancient authors, both Greek and Roman, mention a very hard stone called 'adamas', which probably is the same as what we now call diamond.

bear respectively the myths of Lynceus and Hypermnestra (Pl. IX *a*), and of Atalanta and Hippomenes. As for genre scenes, the museum at Trèves possesses a fragment of a bowl depicting a scene of chariot-racing in the circus, and in Cologne is a dish bearing a stag-hunt. In the fourth century Christian scenes became common, for instance, the sacrifice of Isaac, on a dish in Trèves, and Susanna and the Elders, on a dish in Cologne. These Christian bowls are usually engraved only and not faceted and polished.

3. *Applying drawn glass to the vessel when both were warm.* Such secondary application might take the form of ropes or threads made of drawn glass and trailed on to the vase (Pl. IX *b*). This was done by attaching a wad of glass to the vase and then spinning the vase while at the same time the thread was drawn out from the wad. Sometimes such decoration was left in relief, sometimes it was marvered flush with the surface by rolling the vessel on a flat table or marver while the glass was still warm. Another variety of secondary application is the blob or knop, a dab of glass applied in a warm state to the vase and fused into the surface by reheating (Pl. IX *b*).

We have now dealt very briefly with the main characteristics of the ordinary glass of the Roman period. No aspect of the subject has been considered in detail; numerous aspects of it have not been touched upon at all. Enough has been said, however, to show how complete was the mastery which the Roman worker attained over his material. Considering the meagre knowledge of chemistry which he possessed, and the simplicity of the appliances which he used, it is quite surprising how rapid was his advance in the art of glass-working. After Roman days skill in glass-working declined, especially in Europe, and it was not until the Venetians in the thirteenth and following centuries reintroduced some of the niceties of the art from Syria, and rediscovered others for themselves, that glass-working reached that same height of attainment to which it had climbed by the third century A.D. It was not until the later nineteenth century, when the new chemical and mechanical knowledge came to the aid of the glass-worker, that Roman



a

Cut-glass bowl, Cologne Museum: story of Lynceus and Hypermnestra.
2nd century A.D.

After A. Kisa, Das Glas im Altertume, fig. 246.

b

Glass vessels with applied decoration from Cologne.
3rd–4th century A.D.

After [S. Loeschcke] Sammlung Niessen, Köln, pl. ix.

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methods and standards were really improved upon. Of such a record the workers in the new-born industry might well be proud.

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VERSES

FLORI, villula nostra non ad Austri
flatus oppositast neque ad Favoni
nec saevi Boreae aut Ampelistae,
verum ad millia quindecim et ducentos.
O ventum horribilem atque pestilentem.

CATULLUS 26

THIS little house of mine is snug enough
From draughts that blow from North, South, East, and West:
No, it's that curs'd two thousand overdraft
Rattles my windows and disturbs my rest.

H. W.

DISIECTA MEMBRA

Being some thoughts on the teaching of Latin

By F. E. A. TRAYES

THE following paper (based on a lecture given fairly recently to the members of one of the Board of Education's 'Short Courses' for teachers in secondary schools) is largely the result of some twenty-five years' experience as an inspector. If in places it seems to be elaborating the obvious, I can only plead for forgiveness. So much by way of preface.

To begin at the very beginning. It seems to me essential that the work should be based on the Latin and not on the English sentence—or, to put it in another way, that the pupils shall see, hear, and read as much Latin as possible when they first begin to study the language. We have long adopted this principle in modern language work; it is mercifully uncommon nowadays to find (as one still finds far too often with Latin) children being set down in their first French lesson to translate into French 'The dog is black', or anything of that kind; and while I am very far from thinking that all the methods of modern language teaching should be employed in the teaching of Latin, and in particular have no desire to see the Direct Method in general use, yet I am equally clear that in this particular matter—familiarizing the pupils as soon as possible with the sight and sound of the language—we ought to teach Latin in the same way as we teach French. For surely what we want to do is to get our pupils to realize that Latin is something to be learned for its own sake, and not as something to put English into. Yet that the latter view is almost inevitable, if the work is based upon the English sentence, there can, I think, be very little doubt. I remember putting on the blackboard before a first-year class in a large school two sentences, the idea of which came, like so many other ideas on the teaching of more subjects than one, from my old Head Master, Dr. Abbott, who quotes in the preface to his book *Via Latina* a sentence (*Oppida magna boni agricolae habent*) which he was for many years in the habit of setting to boys taking the Entrance Examination at the City of London School. The first was ordinary enough; the second was of the same type as the one I have already quoted, but distinctly simpler. (1) *Magister puerum laudat*, (2) *puerum magister laudat*. (For girls I used to change the gender of the nouns. What I liked to see—and what I did see all too rarely—was a broad grin running round the class when I asked for a translation of the two sentences.) In this particular school a boy put up his hand as soon

as I had written down the second sentence. I asked him what he wanted. He said, 'Please, sir, the second sentence is wrong'. This was distinctly intriguing; I asked him why. The answer I got was, 'Because in Latin the proper order is subject, object, verb'. You see he had at any rate 'spotted' the fact that the subject was not the first word, and might incidentally, if the class had been wide awake, have spoiled the value of the test. I may add that they were not. But my point is this. How had he learned the proper order of a Latin sentence? If he could have told me that he knew *from his reading of Latin* that the proper order was as he stated it, no one would have been more delighted than I. But he had quite obviously been taught that the proper order *in the Latin version of an English sentence* was subject, object, verb; i.e. Latin was for him (excuse the repetition) something to put English into. And that is why I view with regret and apprehension the somewhat extended use of an exercise book which deliberately adopts the principle that the way to learn Latin is to translate English into it. The authors are, it is true, merciful enough to make a concession to the weakness of more ordinary mortals by adding a few Latin-English exercises at the end of their book —but the proportion of these to the English-Latin exercises is at most one to three; a ha'porth of bread to an intolerable deal of sack. To quote Dr. W. H. S. Jones in *The Teaching of Latin*, 'Perhaps the most pertinent criticism of too much translation from English into Latin during the first stage is that it engenders the habit of writing bad Latin. It is perfectly true that a boy learns to compose by avoiding the mistakes he has already been reproved for making; but he must get into bad habits if he is set tasks that demand much more knowledge and skill than he possesses. And it is precisely such a demand that translation from English into Latin makes upon a boy who has insufficient experience of correct Latin. But nevertheless if care be taken that the work is well within the power of the class, and if too much time be not devoted to it, a few easy sentences to be turned into Latin serve as a good test of the thoroughness with which past work has been done. The point to remember carefully is that such translation cannot teach Latin.' I shall have something more to say about English-Latin sentences later on. For the moment I want to go back to the two sentences I mentioned just now. To my mind the one important thing that every class should learn in its first term of Latin is what I have called, in far more reports than I care to remember, 'the essential principles of sentence analysis', i.e. that it should learn never to be trapped by a sentence in which the subject does not come first. And I believe that one of the best ways of getting a class to do this is to analyse the sentence, as is suggested by Dr. Jones, *using the Latin interrogatives*. Take, for

example, the sentence *Regina mensam rosis ornat*. The teacher asks *Quis mensam rosis ornat?* and the answer is, of course, *Regina mensam rosis ornat*. Then he asks *Quid regina rosis ornat?* to which the answer is *Mensam regina rosis ornat*. Next, *Quibus regina mensam ornat?* the answer being *Rosis regina mensam ornat*. And lastly, *Quid facit regina?* to which the answer is *Ornat regina mensam rosis*. This should of course in time be done quite smartly, the answers coming, as I used to say, like pistol-shots. If any one much prefers the English form of question—what is the subject? what is the object? what is the predicate? &c., there is no reason why it should not be adopted; but I feel that the Latin form is better because it enables the class to turn the sentence inside out, so to speak, and to see that whatever be the order in which the words are placed the essential meaning of the sentence is not altered.

Now to go back to English-Latin sentences. These should be used in the early stages only to test and consolidate the knowledge already acquired from a study of the Latin sentence. If they can be constructed by the teacher himself from the Latin which has been previously read in class, so much the better. The sentences should not be many, and they should not be hard; and, what is more important than anything else, plenty of previous help should be given to the class before they attempt to set pen to paper. It is most important in the early stages of language work to minimize the possibilities of error. There is no reason whatever why a tradition of accuracy in written Latin should not be established as firmly as one of accuracy in simple arithmetic—why, in other words, putting an object in the nominative should not be regarded from the very first as a mistake of the same degree of heinousness as saying, for example, that twice two are five. We all know that in earlier times it was the practice in most schools where Latin was taught to set more work, and more difficult work, than the class could be expected to do, and to think (and in all probability to say), 'The little beggars are sure to get that all wrong'; the boys, knowing what was expected of them, played up nobly, and every one acquiesced in a deplorably low standard. I once came across a remarkable instance of this attitude of mind on the part of a teacher. In one of my districts there were in one town two schools, one for boys and one for girls. The Head Master of the former was a thoroughly good scholar, with a first class in the Tripos, and an admirable teacher of the old-fashioned kind. At the end of one term he visited the girls' school, and was shown by the Head Mistress a set of examination papers worked by girls after one term of Latin. He looked through them and then said, 'But these are not genuine'. 'Why?' said the Head Mistress. 'Because there are not enough mistakes!' 'Very well', she said,

'set a paper yourself and see what the result is.' He did so, and found that it *was* possible for Latin examination papers to be done with quite few mistakes. To resume then—set quite a small amount, but expect and exact good work. 'Easy papers and a high standard of marking' over again; the principle cannot, I think, be laid down too often or too insistently. With regard to previous help, the objection is sometimes urged that some of the pupils will remember what they have heard in class and so the exercise will be merely an effort of memory. Personally I do not think the ordinary human boy remembers so much as all that; but if he does where is the harm? If it leads him to attain a reasonable standard of accuracy and to feel that he can do Latin instead of being depressed by the idea that he cannot do Latin, is it not very much to the good? To my mind, any method which will get rid of that 'tradition of inaccuracy' in Latin which all teachers know to their cost is very well worth while.

I come to the question of dealing with the written exercise in class. Personally I should always go through the sentences orally again, even though they had been done orally before being set. That was always my practice when I was a master at St. Paul's, over thirty years ago, and I confess to feeling more than a little amused when people talk of the oral method of teaching Latin as if it were something new—as a matter of fact what they mean is the direct method, which is not at all the same thing. After the oral work at the sentences comes the question of corrections. Some teachers prefer not to set the class to do corrections at all; they set instead a few sentences of the same kind to be done in class as a test of the extent to which the lesson has been really learnt. There is, I think, much to be said for this method. But if corrections are set, let them be done properly. Quite often I found (much more often in boys' than in girls' schools) either that the pupils were allowed to write out a fair copy from the board, or that they wrote in the correct words over their own work, from the master's dictation. Now what possible value can be attached to 'corrections' of this kind? It may be argued that at any rate the boys see what is right, and that is I suppose true; but what lasting impression does the sight leave upon their minds? In my view the only satisfactory way is for the class to write out correct versions of wrong sentences (*whole* sentences, be it remembered) *unaided*. Only in that way, I believe, can 'corrections' do any real good.

Testing of the knowledge of accidence is often a very dull affair. This is another part of the work in which we may usefully follow the example of our modern language colleagues. For years they have used such exercises as 'Mettez au pluriel' and so forth. Why should not Latin

teachers do the same? I constantly asked classes to take an exercise and change the numbers, and the idea seemed strangely new to teachers; only once in over twenty-five years' experience did I find a teacher doing it of his own motion, and he was a Head Master. Children generally take to the exercise very quickly, and it is obvious that getting them to change the numbers of verbs as well as nouns and adjectives does really test their knowledge of accidence in a much more effective way than asking them, for example, to decline *mensa* or to conjugate the imperfect of *amo*. The thing can be done, if desired, without sentences; one can ask, for example, for the plural of *domini* (it is useful to ask, immediately after this, for the singular of *domini*), the singular of *erant*, *erunt*, and so forth. Sometimes when classes were very slow at this kind of work I suddenly (with an apology for switching off from Latin to arithmetic) asked them questions on their multiplication tables, which they could usually answer with perfect accuracy; then came my chance of telling them that until they could 'jump about' among their cases and tenses as easily as they could 'jump about' their tables they could not be said to know their Latin. One other point in connexion with the teaching of accidence. How many teachers get their classes to learn all the simple tenses of the four conjugations at once? It always seems to me that there is a terrible waste of time in teaching the four conjugations separately. If one tells the class the characteristic vowel of each conjugation and then gives them the personal endings for each tense it is little harder to learn the four together than to learn each separately; and the pupils come to see what it is surely important that they should see, that Latin grammar is not a fortuitous concourse of atoms, but that there is a definite thread of connexion between many of its parts.

One other point in connexion with the work at the beginning. It is in my opinion extremely desirable that the books used by the pupils in their first year at any rate should have the long vowels marked. I am not myself very much concerned that beginners (or pupils at any other stage) should be absolutely correct in the pronunciation of what are known as 'hidden quantities'; that is a refinement which may well be left till later. But I do feel it to be very important that the ordinary quantities should be given correctly. And as children have quite enough other difficulties when they begin Latin they might—and in my opinion certainly should—be afforded help in this matter. Of course, the sooner they learn certain rules affecting quantities the better; there is no reason why they should not learn quite early the rules for the quantities of final vowels, for example. As I have been asked more than once where such rules are to be found, and as it is possible that the information may still be useful,

let me say that there are two pages dealing with the essentials of the matter in Kennedy's *Revised Latin Primer*. They are also to be found in Westaway's *Latin Quantity and Accent*, and, I have no doubt, in several of the more recently published grammars. There is little or no excuse for failure to observe these rules; and I will go further and add that nothing is more excruciating than to hear teachers who are most careful to say, for example, *cōnsul* and *infāns* talking within a minute or so about *nŏmen and mīlitis*. It is true, of course, that there is a large number of words like *mīles* of a class whose quantity you either know or do not know—*ācer* (adjective) is another good example. And for those teachers who have not had the advantage of doing Latin verses in their youth (for those who have, quantities do not as a general rule present much difficulty) there is, I think, nothing for it but to go through the lesson beforehand and mark the long vowels for themselves if that work has not been already done for them by the editor. Of course, there is another way of getting to know the quantity of words, and that is by remembering them if they occur in verse. No one, for example, who remembers the line of Horace describing the character of Achilles, *Impiger, iracundus, inexorabilis, acer*, will ever have any temptation to make the *a* in *acer* anything but long.

Yet one other matter of pronunciation. I think it is vitally important that the class should learn as early as possible the simple rules of accentuation. The simplest of all is one of the very few rules, as I often told classes, which have no exception. I mean, of course, the rule that a final syllable is never accented. If this were only more often remembered our ears would not so often be shocked by *erĺt, eró, erám*, and the like; I do not mean in the conjugation of verbs (unnecessary though it is even there), but in the reading of an ordinary sentence. The usual explanation, which is all right so far as it goes, is that the children learn to emphasize the final syllable in order to get it distinct. But does the explanation go really far enough? I never heard of a French teacher acquiescing for this reason in *nous avóns, vous avéz*, when his pupils were conjugating the present tense of *avoir*; and if inaccuracy is unnecessary and unpardonable in French why is it necessary or pardonable in Latin? Is it really a counsel of perfection to suggest that even when children are learning the conjugation of *sum* they should say *éro, éris, éram*, &c.? With regard to the accentuation of trisyllables I found it a very useful lesson —I have even gone so far as to call it a lesson in scientific method—for a class to work out the rule for itself. I used to put on the board two or three trisyllables, and ask the class how they were to be pronounced; and, after two or three more, asked if the class could tell me the rule.

They never got it right at once, of course—they found that their first two or three suggestions could be shown by further examples to be unsatisfactory; but eventually, by a process of trial and error, they arrived at the correct rule—that when the middle syllable is long or contains a vowel followed by a double consonant, that syllable is accented, but that when the middle syllable is short the first syllable is accented. *Is* there any reason why this should not be learnt quite early in the Latin course? I go so far as to say that I much more often heard *ságitta*, *mágister*, and similar monstrosities than I heard the correct accentuation; I am afraid I not infrequently heard (and not from pupils only) *Aéneas* and *Úlysses*.

Having now said all I want to say about the work of the first year, I come to translation of authors. And here I have a suggestion to make. Why is it that we are all so often appalled by our pupils' extraordinary readiness to render Latin into hopeless gibberish? I believe the real reason is that they have not been convinced that Latin is a language that was spoken by a very sane race; in other words, that at the back of their minds they have firmly fixed, as I often used to tell classes, the idea that Latin was a language written by lunatics for lunatics. How can we disabuse them of this idea? What I found most useful was this. I used to print on the board these three lines:

CIRCVS PLENVS
IANVAE CLAVSAE
CLAMOR INGENS

and ask them what they thought was the meaning. With a very little help (of course they did not know *ianua*) they were able to tell me, and before long they recognized that the notice was much the same as some of them had seen during their Christmas holidays—House Full. The explanation of the last line usually afforded some amusement. Then I told them that this inscription was to be found on a stone in the British Museum, which was discovered originally on the site of a Roman colony in Spain. I need not elaborate further; but it is a great thing for the class to have learnt that Latin could be used for such obviously sane everyday purposes as announcing that there was no more room in a theatre.

Now for the actual translation lesson. Personally I think the Latin should always be read before it is translated; it is the method on which I was brought up, like most others who have been in classical

schools, and I still believe it to be the best method. Failing a reading of the text before translation, it should be read afterwards; but, as I have said, I prefer reading to precede translation in most cases. Any good teacher can tell at once from a pupil's reading of a passage whether he has a reasonable grasp of the meaning. And one of the most important parts of reading is *phrasing*; a thing which is far too often neglected in schools. If a pupil has prepared his lesson (I am dealing for the moment only with prepared lessons) in anything like the proper fashion he ought to be able to phrase the part he reads with some fair degree of accuracy; if he does not, he has either not prepared it at all or prepared it with singularly little success. It should be impressed upon the class at the start that it is essential to make the *phrase* (if possible the *sentence*) the unit—never the *word*. In the translation itself slipshod English should be castigated from the very beginning; we have here only another instance of the truth that almost every lesson in the time-table can and should be a lesson in English. Why should boys and girls think that their Latin teachers will be satisfied with stuff which they would not dare to set before their English teachers? Every one knows the kind of thing I mean; it has perhaps never been more happily parodied than by Rudyard Kipling in the appendix to that brilliantly clever *jeu d'esprit*, *The Fifth Book of Horace's Odes*. 'Like as mountains are not seen to be high unless fields have been left, so those making places for peoples about to stand are not seen by any one on the spot. Lacking the integuments for their countenance of the sort afforded by graves or insignia, their friends and enemies too asserting them to be equal in stature, they sell themselves cheap in order to purchase dear things. . . . They do not look at laurels or spectacles nor even at peace, a traitress, till she is proper. In the meantime, they support cold hands, and virtues. . . .' Parody as this admittedly is, it is, as Sir R. Livingstone has pointed out, 'scarcely more bizarre than the stuff which passes for translation among schoolboys'; and he pleads that 'we should send to the knackers that spavined jade Anglo-Latin, misbred out of Literary English by Literal Accuracy'.

Two other suggestions may be made which will, to my mind, do much to increase the efficiency of the work in translation. First, at the end of a prose lesson, let the teacher exact a summary of the subject-matter from the class—if he can get it done in Latin, so much the better; I have never forgotten hearing Mr. Paton's Sixth Form at Manchester giving him a Latin summary of the chapters of the *De Officiis* which had been read that morning. Secondly, let the *old lesson* always be translated before any new work is begun. 'No time', I can almost hear some one say, 'with so much to get through for the Certificate Examination.' Well, per-

sonally I should prefer to know that my class had a sound knowledge of say three-quarters (or even a half) of their book than a very unsound knowledge of the whole; and I am not at all sure that it would not pay better even in examinations!

With regard to the reading of verse, the first thing the class ought to do is to learn to scan; this precept is as old as Quintilian, who in the first book of his *Institutio Oratoria* says that the teacher should first of all get his pupil to give *pedum proprietates*, i.e. scan the verses. I cannot imagine that this is so difficult as some teachers appear to believe; I was constantly told that scansion had been omitted because there had been no time! Yet how on earth can any one read a verse passage with any approach to accuracy if he has never learned scansion? It always seems to me that the essential principles can be taught, and taught successfully, in one lesson. Personally I should first of all (after describing the two kinds of feet—for I am dealing at present only with hexameters or elegiacs) tell the class that the last five syllables of the hexameter are fixed, and then spend ten minutes or so getting them to do nothing but read the last five syllables of each line in turn—twice or three times round if necessary; and then, when they have grasped the three essential facts, first, that the first syllable of a foot is always long, secondly, that a syllable containing a vowel before two consonants is long, and thirdly, the nature of elision, the main difficulties have been surmounted, and the class ought to be able to go ahead. It may be argued that this is a counsel of perfection. Well, all I can say is that in a well-known London school I have heard girls read Homer (in their second term of Greek, be it remembered) so beautifully that it was a real pleasure to listen to them; I asked their Head Mistress, who taught them, how long it had taken to teach them scansion (and I need hardly remind you that Homeric scansion is at least as hard as Virgilian for most pupils), and she said, 'Oh, less than three-quarters of an hour'.

Now let us suppose that the Virgil lesson, so far as the boys are concerned, is at an end. I am afraid it is still true that despite all we can do the class will have both read and translated in a very halting fashion. How are we to get them to appreciate the literary and poetical value of the passage that has been read in class? Let me repeat a story told to the Classical Association some years ago by Mr. Pickard-Cambridge. He was inspecting for the Oxford and Cambridge Joint Board one of our best-known public schools, and the class—an Upper Fifth—was being taken in one of the finest passages of the *Bacchae*. The master appeared to require no knowledge from his pupils except a drearily literal translation, and at every point the naming of the grammatical principle illus-

trated, the epexegetic infinitive, the objective genitive, &c. The boys played the game and supplied the terms at haphazard. Mr. Pickard-Cambridge got after three-quarters of an hour somewhat bored with this, and said to the master: 'I suppose you suggest to the boys sometimes that this is some of the finest literature in the world?' The master said, 'Oh! Literature? yes, I suppose it is; but it is splendid material for teaching grammar.' Then Mr. Pickard-Cambridge asked if he might read to the class Gilbert Murray's translation of the passage. 'What? Murray? Is there a Greek scholar named Murray?' After learning who Gilbert Murray was, the master said he would be very pleased if Mr. Pickard-Cambridge would read the translation, and he did so. At the end of the lesson a boy came up and said somewhat shyly, 'I hope you will forgive me for speaking to you, sir, but it seems to me that if Euripides could write like that he must have been a poet.' Well, how are we to get our pupils to come to the conclusion that Virgil must have been a poet? My old masters, Dr. Abbott and Mr. Rushbrooke, used to help us in that direction by giving us a translation in first-rate English at the end of every lesson. After nearly fifty years I can still remember their 'I translate', and the steady walk up and down in front of the class, while we listened and vainly wished that we had their command of the English language! But those of us who cannot rise to these heights can at least read the Latin in some degree as it ought to be read; if we have any feeling for our author at all we can give our pupils at any rate some idea that he whom they have mangled both in their reading and in their translation was really a poet, and we may say of them, nearly as Horace wrote in a rather different connexion, *Inveniant etiam disiecti membra poetae*.

Let me end with three smaller points in connexion with third- or fourth-year work, or both. First, with regard to unseen translation done orally. Most passages that our pupils are likely to have to do at this stage are supplied with a title, which is something; but it does not necessarily go very far in helping the class to get the sense of the passage. What I suggest is that before any attempt is made to get down to actual translation the gist of every separate sentence shall be got from the class (I assume that the whole passage will have been read aloud at the very beginning of the lesson—that should be axiomatic). If this is done, and done well, the class will have gone a very long way towards understanding the sense of the passage not only as a whole but in its parts. I should like also to suggest that the teacher sometimes work out an unseen passage with his class—I mean, that if possible the passage shall be new to him as well as to them. To see how a trained mind attacks difficulties

is in itself an enormous help to a class; one of the most vivid recollections of my Sixth Form days is the way in which my Head Master used to come to a difficult passage of Sophocles or Thucydides as if it were entirely new to him. There was no *ex cathedra* statement that the passage must be taken in such and such a way; all the possibilities were thoroughly discussed before a conclusion was arrived at. The next point has to do with the 'sentences' which have to be written by all who would succeed in the First Examination. We are all of us, I have no doubt, frequently disappointed at the poor results we get in class. I adopted quite recently a device which I believe to be of some value. I set a few typical sentences to a School Certificate Form. Say there were 15 pupils and I set 6 sentences. Then I asked them how many of the 90 sentences (6 times 15) they expected to be right. Then we marked them—and the result was usually far from being as good as they (or I) expected. Then I told them that they ought not to be satisfied till they got, not 20 right out of 90 (that is about the usual average), but something between 50 and 60. I believe that this appeal to a class to beat its own class record can be very potent indeed. Of course the sentences are marked either right or wrong; it is not a question of how many or how few mistakes are made, but of how many sentences are completely correct. The last point has to deal with continuous prose composition. The proses are carefully, even laboriously, marked by the teacher, but the pupil's correction of mistakes never goes farther than writing out the correct version of a sentence in which there has been a mistake—sometimes it doesn't go as far, and all we get is a word written in over the mistake. What is the result? The pupil learns little or nothing from this so-called 'correction', and in his next prose he repeats the same mistakes with additions. I suggest a different method. I suggest that the pupil should be expected to write out (of course unaided) a faultless version of one piece before he goes on to the next. It is little if any harder for the teacher to mark ten different pieces than ten different versions of the same piece; and the pupil, if I know anything of boys or girls, will soon get so heartily sick of writing the same piece that a strenuous and successful effort will be made to get it completely right. Then something quite definite will have been accomplished; not only will the pupil have done a complete piece correctly—an achievement on which he can pride himself—but he is at any rate less likely to make the same mistakes again.

My readers will now be in a position to understand why I have called this paper *Disiecta Membra*; I only hope that there has not been too much fine confused feeding in it. *Liberavi animam meam.*

LUCRETIUS

By H. F. HOSE

THE physical theories of Democritus were and are profoundly interesting as an attempt to answer some of the great questions of natural science—how to account for growth and change, for the fact that earth turns into corn, corn into men, and men again into earth. The early Ionic philosophers had seen that some necessary common basis must be found, and had sought it in water or fire or some other supposed element. The inadequacy of these explanations soon became evident to the rapidly growing Greek intellect, and Democritus found the common basis in atoms, indestructible and indivisible; an infinite number of these were moving through space, differing in shape and hardness; the movement of the atoms had a certain swerve which enabled them to meet, and the meeting of infinite numbers enabled those of the right shape and texture to join and form the things we see (*res* in Lucretius). Atoms and void—there was nothing else, and nothing else was needed to produce the world we know. This is a purely physical theory and might be held by Napoleon, Cleopatra, or Charles Peace, nor is it capable of being made the subject of a great poem

When Epicurus, in a denationalized Greece, was formulating a system of morals which should give men peace of mind in life and death, he seized on Democritus' physical theory to assist him. Peace of mind demanded freedom from the fears and hopes of arbitrary divine intervention, from the desire of material things. There was no πόλις to make an invigorating call on men's activities; even in Plato's time its voice had weakened almost to silence. The religion of the past had been torn to shreds by poets and philosophers. It only remained for the sage to regard himself calmly as a fortuitous conjunction of atoms, and so to regulate his life that body and mind passed as placidly as possible the period that was to elapse before the conjunction was dissolved. Here, again, why make a poem about it? Why undergo the poet's agony, his alternations of sublimity and despair, when a few chatty epistles or quiet talks

could put those who wished to know in possession of a rational theory of life?

Then how came the poem of Lucretius, the devout Epicurean, to be written? How did this great poem spring forth from a barren atomic physics and a garden-seat system of morals? Whence came the passion, the fervour and the impulse, the unquenchable emotion, the divine madness that a great poem implies? The answer to these questions is in the character of Lucretius. Of his life and himself, apart from the poem, we know practically nothing; he lived in the last days of the Roman republic, was a member of a great Roman family, and a friend of Cicero. To this meagre array of facts a late and very dubious authority adds that he suffered from the effects of a love-potion. So for our knowledge of Lucretius we depend upon his poem. He is an apostle, a fanatic; he is to Epicurus as Luther to Erasmus. But he is that strangest of types, an apostle against religion. The fervour and the impulse, the deep spring of emotion, come from the determination to destroy, not to propagate, religion. This fervour and this emotion animate even the barren tracts of physical discussion, and shed an immortal, if a sombre glory over the mountain-heights of his pronouncements on life and death.

He feels the appalling sadness of a lost world as deeply as St. Paul, and sets himself with the same ardour to save it. But St. Paul is not a poet and Lucretius is. So we must look for something more in Lucretius—two things, the poet's mind and the poet's art. The poet's mind means the sympathetic observation of the facts of human life and nature, and the poet's art their transmutation into poetry by a masterly use of language and metre. The poet's mind means the grasp of a great subject, the power to keep it steadily in view and not lose sight of it in the pursuit of beauty of detail; the poet's art means the power to uplift the reader by the compelling power of words and metre into the regions in which the poet is moving, to set the reader on the heights and make him see the visions. In these respects there is, naturally, a great likeness between Lucretius and the Milton of *Paradise Lost*.

This likeness goes further. In both cases the subject, or

a great part of the subject, is intractable. Hence what must in a sense be called the splendid failure of both poems, the *De Rerum Natura* and *Paradise Lost*. Theology and physics resist the process of transmutation into poetry, and the alchemy of the greatest poets can do nothing but gild them faintly. In both cases our enjoyment of the poem comes in the main from the passages, fortunately abundant, where the transmutation is into purest gold. Yet in both cases the effort of the whole task is so magnificent that we would not have it otherwise, and feel that the greatest parts could not be detached from this setting.

Lucretius is not a great philosopher, if by that we mean either one who produces some great idea in the world of thought, or one who can survey and compare all systems impartially. He is rather the intelligent disciple, who can assimilate and expound his master's doctrines and his master's unsparing confutations of other thinkers. There is nothing original in his system, though it happens, by the chances of survival, to be the most complete and coherent exposition of the ideas of Democritus and Epicurus. But he is a philosopher at least in two respects. He can grasp the whole of his system in a broad sweeping view and contain in his mind its fundamental ideas. Secondly, he can arrange and expound clearly and logically; he can build up and complete his edifice so thoroughly that no part is left in air, or unrelated to the rest of the structure. The slight defects in treatment or arrangement which exist in the poem as we have it are due to the fact that it was never completely revised. Much that would seem unsatisfactory in a modern scientific treatise, the ready acceptance of imperfect explanations of natural phenomena, or the suggestion of three or four explanations as all equally good, is a radical feature of the Epicurean system. Epicurus was only concerned to show that a natural explanation of phenomena was possible; it was futile to discuss which of several was right. Why the sun behaved differently at different seasons, why it rose and set, mattered little, if only it could be shown that its movements were susceptible of explanation on completely natural grounds, and did not require or admit of any arbitrary supernatural intervention.

But Lucretius is a great original poet. There are of course, as in all poets, echoes in the details of thought and language, echoes of Ennius, of the Greek tragedians. But even they are fainter than in many great poets. Lucretius looked on life and nature with his own eyes, formed his own impressions, and put them into great and memorable words, and wove them into that great tapestry that hangs, sombre but glorious, on the walls of the temple of poetry. Life is sad, and the world is full of mocking shows, but there is one unfailing anodyne, the quest and discovery of truth. And the finder, whose heart is purified (*pectus purgatum*) while he has a lofty scorn for the futilities of men, for ambition, for war, for wealth and pleasure-seeking, gains many a gentle and serene pleasure in the contemplation of Nature and the observation of her ways and in the recognition of beauty in the simple and sober forms of human relationship and society.

There is a further point that deserves notice. Lucretius tries hard to be a thorough-going materialist. He banishes the gods to some interlunar space, and is at pains to prove that they could not have, or desire to have, any hand in the creation or government of the world. The fortuitous concourse of atoms in the void, none can doubt, none *shall* doubt that this is all. Yet in the poet's mind there rise continually in the background suggestions of mysterious powers which the philosopher would banish. Nature and the Earth-mother guide and foster growth and progress, and appear more than once as very dimly-conceived beneficent beings, without whom, somehow, the conjunction of atoms would not have produced quite such an harmonious result. Of these appearances the poet seems almost unconscious, the philosopher wholly unconscious. But the poet at least is fully conscious of the wonderful invocation of an unmistakable deity at the outset of the work, the mystical but very anthropomorphic Venus who sways the hearts of gods and men and beasts and all living things and enables them to increase after their kind. How she comes into this atomic world, what is the full meaning of this introductory palinode, no critic has ever fully explained.

PYTHEAS OF MARSEILLES

By C. F. ANGUS

THE English are a nation of shopkeepers—Napoleon has said it—and as good commercials we travel. Of all those who at one time or another visit Marseilles, our gateway to the South and East, how many, I wonder, even of those who have received a classical education, remember that they are after all but paying the compliment of a return call, since from that port sailed over 2,200 years ago the first Greek expedition τῶν ἡμεῖς ἴδμεν to explore the North and West and visit the British Isles, under the command of Pytheas.

We happen to have some information as to his qualifications for commanding it. That he had already made his name as an astronomer and geographer by two important discoveries seems to follow from statements of Hipparchus, the chief astronomer of the second century B.C. He had discovered first that there was no star actually at the North Pole, but three very close to it, and he had calculated the latitude of Marseilles as 43° 18′ 25″, which is only 40 seconds out by modern reckoning, and nearly 4 degrees more accurate than that of his hostile critic Strabo.

He sailed, he saw, he reported—but what he said he saw, and how far we may believe his report it will be convenient to postpone for a few moments until we have studied the materials upon which our verdict must be based.

His report was contained in a book bearing the titles of *Periodos Ges* or *Oceanus*, and had apparently an immediate success. Its novelties were taken seriously by Eratosthenes, Timaeus, and possibly Ephorus, who made extracts from it, some of which reappear three or four centuries later in Diodorus, Caesar, Pliny, and Tacitus. Then came a reaction. The book was imitated and parodied (sincerest flattery) in Euhemerus' *Panchaea*, Hecataeus' *Beyond the Hyperboreans*, and one Antonius Diogenes' *Apista peri Thoules*, which was read and summarized by the omnivorous Photius on his journey to Baghdad. (What would one not give to have been his director

of studies on that occasion!) Finally, it was contemptuously rejected by Polybius, whom Strabo followed. And so to-day (if I have counted correctly) the name of Pytheas occurs just 30 times in all ancient literature, 17 times in Strabo (and always with derision), 5 in Pliny, and 8 in lonely casual allusions. Our first problem, therefore, is to recover (*a*) from these 30 direct references or quotations, and (*b*) from allusions whose provenance is not so certain, as much as we may of the original contents of the book to which they refer.

It will be convenient to begin with a rather long quotation from Strabo, which raises at once some of the most fiercely disputed issues. He opens the fourth chapter of his second book as follows:

'Polybius, in his account of Europe, says that he is omitting the ancient geographers but examining those who criticized them—Dicaearchus and Eratosthenes, the most recent writer on the subject, and Pytheas, by whom many had been deceived, with his claim to have travelled over the whole of Britain that was accessible,[1] his reckoning of the circumference of the island at more than 40,000,[2] and his report about Thule, and those strange regions where he found no longer earth in its proper state nor sea nor air, but a sort of combination of them all like a "sea-lung", in which he says the earth and sea and all are suspended, and it is a sort of link of the whole—impossible either to walk on or to sail over. As for the thing like a lung, he saw it himself; the rest was hearsay. He added that on his return from thence he travelled over the whole coast-line of Europe from Cadiz as far as the Tanais.

'It is incredible, Polybius adds, to begin with, how a private individual without means could have covered such vast distances by sea or land, or that Eratosthenes, who hesitated whether to believe this, should nevertheless have believed him about Britain and Cadiz and Spain: far better, says (P.) to have believed the Messenian than him! He only says that he sailed to one country, Panchaea, but Pytheas says that he has explored the whole of northern Europe as far as the ends of the earth—a claim that would not be believed even if Hermes made it! Yet Eratosthenes, who calls Euhemerus a Bergean, believes Pytheas and that though Dicaearchus did not.'

[1] τὴν Βρ. ἐμβατὸν ἐπελθεῖν. τὴν ἐμβ. Jacob, ἐμβαδὸν Korays (false).

[2] Cf. Pliny iv. 102 circuitu patere [x]xxxvii[ii] lxxv Pytheas et Isodorus tradunt.

And so for two purely subjective reasons Polybius put down Pytheas as a negligible liar, and in doing so tantalizes our curiosity with obscure references to Thule and a mysterious element that he found thereabouts. Strabo, it is true, gives other reasons for his scepticism, but we shall find that, wherever we can test his objections (with the one exception of the length of the British coast-line), Pytheas is right and Strabo wrong.

The next two references are instructive as to the casual nature of the evidence and the slender grounds for Strabo's mistrust. Both come from Strabo and are directed in the first instance against Eratosthenes, but from them we may glean some information as to the part of Pytheas' voyage which lay between the Straits and Cape Ushant off Brittany.

'Eratosthenes also tells us that the country adjoining Gibraltar was called Tartessis and Erythīa (= Red Island) the Fortunate Isle. He is contradicted by Artemidorus, who says that this statement of his is as false as his other statements that the distance from Cadiz to Cape St. Vincent is five days' sail (whereas it is not more than 170 miles), that the tides come to an end at this point instead of encircling the whole inhabited world, that it is better going eastwards along the N. coast of Spain, and all the other assertions which he made on the authority of that impostor Pytheas.' Strabo III. ii. 11 (148).

'Eratosthenes' mistake about the breadth of the earth [i.e. from north to south] forces him to be wrong also about its length. "We have further to add the westward bulge of Europe outside the Straits opposite Spain for not less than 300 miles, and the various headlands, including that of the Ostimii called Cabaeum, and the adjoining islands, the outermost of which, called Uxisama, Pytheas says is three days' sail away". . . . But in point of fact all these lie to the north, and belong to France, not Spain,—or rather are inventions of Pytheas.' Ib. I. iv. 5 (64).

Of course Strabo, who had never been farther west than Italy in his life, could not tell that a voyage in the open Atlantic brought experiences not shown on a map, that other sailors for instance have found themselves delayed by a south-easterly current which begins at Cape St. Vincent and has nothing to do with Oceanus; nor, as he believed and wrote that the coasts

of Spain and France formed a fairly straight line running north-east with the south coast of Britain lying parallel to it, could he sympathize with an estimate which based on actual knowledge of the Bay of Biscay put Cape Finisterre farther west than it really is. But so far Strabo is revealed as the armchair critic, while Eratosthenes' account implies that his authority, Pytheas, had really been there.

Strabo's next mention of Pytheas is in connexion with *Kantion*, which the traveller had declared to be several days' sail from *Keltike*, whereas the geographer knows that it is visible from the mouth of the Rhine! Accordingly we are left to other sources to determine whether he visited south-west Britain or not. Modern writers differ (as usual), but apart from the consideration that such a voyage could not have failed to include within its objects an endeavour to obtain greater familiarity with the tin trade, the question seems to me answered in the affirmative by a comparison of two passages, one from Pliny and one from Diodorus, even though Pytheas himself is only mentioned in the first.

'Opposite the Rhine lies the island of Britain, famous in Greek and Latin literature. . . . Its own name was Albion, though all the islands which we shall presently mention were called Britain. It is 50 miles from the coast of the Morini at Boulogne by the nearest crossing. Its circumference is given by Pytheas and Isodorus as 3,875 miles, and after 30 years the Roman arms have not extended our knowledge of it beyond the neighbourhood of the Caledonian Forest. Agrippa believes its length to be 800 and breadth 300, that of Ireland the same, but 200 less in length: this lies above [i.e. north of!] it, 30 miles from North Wales (Silures) by the shortest crossing. None of the other isles are given a circumference of more than 125. They are—40 Orkneys, quite near one another, 30 Hebrides, Man between Ireland and England, Anglesey, *Riginia*, *Vectis*, *Silumnus*, Andros; lower down, *Samnis* and *Axanthus* (Ush.) and on the opposite side of the North Sea the Glass Islands, which the later Greeks called Electrides, because amber was found there. The outermost of all to be recorded is Thule, where at the solstice when the sun is in Cancer there is no night, just as there is no day in winter: some people think this lasts six months on end.

'The historian Timaeus says that six days' sail inward (?) from Britain is the isle of Mictis [Insulammictim] where the tin comes from: the

Britons sail it in coracles of wickerwork sewn round with hides.[1] Other islands also are recorded—*Scandiae*, *Dumna*, *Bergi*—and the largest of all *Berrice*,[2] the starting-point for Thule. From Thule it is one day's sail to the Frozen Sea, which some call Cronian.'

(Pliny, *Natural History*, iv. 102–4.)

'Off the coast of Gaul, opposite the Hercynian Forest . . ., are many islands in the Ocean of which the greatest is the so-called Pritain. In ancient times this had no communication with foreign powers, for we are not told that either Dionysus or Heracles or any other of the heroes invaded it. But in our day Julius Caesar was the first on record to subdue the island, and after defeating the Pritons he forced them to pay a fixed tribute. However, we shall write this up in detail at the proper time: now we will describe the island and the tin that is found there.

'In shape it is a triangle with unequal sides, something like Sicily. Lying obliquely off Europe, its point nearest the mainland, which they call Kantion, is said to be at a distance of 100 stades . . .: the second headland called *Belerion* [Lizard] they say is four days' sail from the Continent, and the remaining point, we are told, runs up into the sea and is named *Orcas*. Of its sides the shortest, facing Europe, is 750 miles, the second, running up from the Straits to the tip, is 1,500, and the third 2,000, so that the circumference of the whole island is 4,250 miles.

'Pritain is said to be inhabited by aborigines who preserve the primitive ways of living. They use chariots for war, like the old Greek heroes we read of in the Trojan War, and their dwellings are mean, made for the most part of rushes or sticks: their harvest consists in cutting off the ears of corn and storing them in pits underground; from them they pluck each day the old⟨est⟩ ears and prepare them for food. . . .

'Now we will describe the tin that is found there. The inhabitants of the part of Pritain near the cape called Belerion are extremely fond of foreigners and from their intercourse with foreign traders are civilized in their ways. They prepare the tin by scientifically working the soil which produces it. This is rocky, with earthy veins, containing ore which they work and refine by smelting. Then they beat the metal into slabs like knucklebones and convey them to a certain island off the coast called *Ictis*. When the space between is left dry at low-tide they convey the tin on to it in quantities in their carts. . . . At Ictis the traders buy the tin from the natives and transport it over to Gaul, and after travelling overland for about thirty days they finally bring their freights on packhorses to the mouths of the Rhone.' (Diodorus, v. xxi. 7– .)

[1] Cf. xxxiv. 156.

[2] ?? al. *Nerigon* = Norgi?

While all agree that Ictis = the old Celtic name for the English Channel (cf. Caesar's *Portus Itius*), Tozer and Rice Holmes are confident that it can be no other than St. Michael's Mount. Ridgeway, with greater confidence, identifies it with the Isle of Wight (despite the fact that Pliny has already called that by the slightly different name of Vectis), and when criticized repeats his assertion, with the rider that only scoundrels can think otherwise. Personally, despite the threat of Ridgeway's excommunication, I feel drawn towards Elton's plea for the Isle of Thanet, which he tells us remained an island at high water till the days of Henry VIII. But I have to admit that either view has to use some violence towards our authorities.

From Kent Pytheas sailed up the east coast of England, and noted the gradual lengthening of the days and decline of vegetation. Putting together several passages of Strabo (e.g. II. i. 18, V. iii. 42) we infer that he furnished Hipparchus with data for improving the Greek map of the northern hemisphere by noting the 'climata' at which the longest day of the year became successively of 16, 17, 18, and 19 hours. Such places are in modern reckoning:

48° 42′ 51″ off Cape Ushant;
54° 2′ off Flamborough Head;
57° 58′ 41″ off Tarbatt Ness in Ross-shire;
and 60° 51′ 54″ = Unst I., the northernmost of the Shetlands (= Bergin).

I think that we may safely assume that Pytheas got at least as far north as the latter place, though it must not be identified with Thule. To Strabo such a claim was a self-evident lie because Strabo knew that the limits of the habitable world were bounded by two lines 880 and 3,800 miles from the equator, that is, it lay between the latitudes 12° 34′ 17″ and 54° 17′ 9″; in other words Durham and Cumberland are uninhabitable from extreme cold, just as Ceylon is for the opposite reason! Here are two quotations from IV. v. 5 and II. v. 8 (pp. 201, 114):

'As to Thule, our information is still more uncertain because of its remote position, for they place it furthest north of all places that have a

name. The falsity of what Pytheas has told us about it and the other places in those parts is proved from what he says about the countries that are known, which is mostly lies (as I've already said), so that he is obviously a greater liar about the remote regions. Still from the point of view of astronomy and pure mathematics there would be nothing to object to in his statement that as you approach the Frozen Zone there is an utter dearth of cultivated fruits and a scarcity of live-stock; they live on millet and other (wild) herbs, fruits and roots; and where they have grain and honey they get their beverage from these also. Having no clear sunshine they pound their grain in large barns, into which the ears have been collected, for their rains and sunlessness make ⟨our open⟩ threshing-floors useless.'

'Of course that Marseilles man Pytheas says that Thule, the most northerly of the British Isles, is the most remote, where the summer tropic and the Arctic circle are identical. But I learn nothing from any other writer—either that there is such an island as Thule or that it is inhabitable up to that point, and I consider that the northern limit of habitability falls far to the south of this. Modern sources of information know of nothing beyond Ireland, which lies off Britain on its northern side and is so cold that its inhabitants are complete savages and live in misery. Pytheas has lied here also.'

Another indication that Pytheas had really been at least as far north as the Shetlands is given by Pliny's statement that 'Pytheas of Marseilles informs us that the tide rises 80 cubits north of (*supra*) Britain'. (ii. 217.) We learn from the one mention of him by Plutarch that he had already noted that the height of the Atlantic tide (unknown of course inside the Mediterranean) depended on the age of the moon, but Pliny's figure was thought quite impossible and either put down to habitual lying or more charitably (and ingeniously) explained as a misreading for 28 (octovigenis), until it was noted that at Pentland Firth the rise of the tide is not far short of 120 feet. And once again we note that no statement definitely attributed to him has been proved a lie, however much his reporters may have been puzzled and failed to understand him rightly. What then of the most famous of all his paradoxes—Thule and the Midnight Sun?

Upon this point we have, as it happens, more testimonies

than upon any other connected with Pytheas, and consequently more disagreement. It is almost impossible to determine what he actually said, or even whether he claimed to have reached Thule himself or only to have heard of it at second hand. One phrase contained in the report particularly intrigued and puzzled the minds of those who have repeated it. Let me quote it in the form that seems nearest to the original. One Gemīnus of Rhodes, dated at *c.* 77 B.C., wrote in his *Elements of Astronomy*, vi. 9:

'Still further north they have a day of 17 or 18 hours. Pytheas of Marseilles is supposed to have reached these parts. At any rate he says ἐν τοῖς περὶ τοῦ ὠκεανοῦ πεπραγματευμένοις αὐτῷ "the natives showed me where the sun went to bed". For in those regions the night became extremely short, of two or three hours so that the sun rose again almost immediately after setting.'

I infer that Pytheas never reached Thule himself, if that is on the Arctic circle, but that somewhere north even of Shetland, where the longest day was not 19 but 21 or 22 hours, somewhere perhaps in Norway, they told him of a place still farther north, where you could *see* the sun go to bed and get up again.

And that other mystery—the element that was neither earth nor air nor sea, but a blend of all? It has been explained as a misunderstood reference to icebergs, to jelly-fish, or to fog. May I support the last by a parallel from a novel published very recently? T. Jesse's *Tom Fool* begins with these words:

'The *Happy Return* had been running free down Channel when the fog closed in on her. The fog was so heavy, it made a new element neither air nor water, though partaking of both as if by some unholy alchemy. . . .'

Of his further adventures in the Baltic, where the amber came from, no time remains to speak. Let me draw to a close by inviting your assent to the conclusion that we have here, however vaguely, the traces of a great exploit and a great discoverer. No less than Columbus, Pytheas discovered a New World, though he was less fortunate in his reception by posterity. By an irony of fate the works of Eratosthenes and Timaeus who believed him are lost, while those of Polybius and Strabo who did not remain!

HERESIES II.—'DON'T DO IT'

By W. F. WITTON

IF one may judge by the numerous 'First Latin Courses' that have appeared in the last twenty years, it is still the belief of many teachers of Latin that if you wish to render in Latin 'Don't do it', you may say either *Noli facere*, or, at the risk of seeming familiar, *Ne feceris*; but that the corresponding formula, *Ne facias*, though good enough for the old comedians, is to be avoided entirely, as conveying merely a 'general' prohibition—presumably of the type 'Do not walk on the grass'—and not a 'particular' one.

To the first part of this creed no exception can be taken; *noli facere* is always safe; but that the rest of it is largely superstition was shown by Elmer in the *American Journal of Philology* as far back as 1894. Elmer's conclusions have never been disproved, and it is time that the facts were more widely known.

In the first place, *ne feceris* is not 'classical' Latin at all; it occurs in Cicero seven times in dialogue passages and fourteen times in the Letters, and Horace uses it four times; otherwise it is unknown between Terence and Livy; it is just an outcrop of the familiar language.

In the second place, *ne facias* is almost as common as *ne feceris* in Cicero, though the editors make frantic efforts to substantiate the supposed rule by treating the *ne facias* form, where it occurs, as a dependent final clause; thus, in *Ad fam.* 8. 9. 3 *ne putes* is explained as equivalent to *hoc dico ne putes*; as if to rewrite a passage were a legitimate method of explaining it.

Thirdly, there are no grounds for distinguishing *ne facias* from *ne feceris* as 'general' from 'particular'. When Cicero writes to his brother *ne adsignes* (*ad Q. Fr.* 1. 4. 1) he means, 'do not *you*, Quintus, sign it'; and when he says to Atticus *actum ne agas* (*ad Att.* 9. 18. 3) he means, 'don't *you*, Atticus, flog a dead horse'; and editors try to save their rule by explaining that here the 'general' prohibition is applied to a particular person! So when Horace writes *ne sis patruus mihi* (*Sat.* 3. 2. 88)

he is no more speaking generally than when he says *tu ne quaesieris*. Stolz, in Müller's *Handbuch*, p. 573, says definitely, 'Der Unterschied zwischen dem Konj. Präs. und Perf. ist ein aktioneller'; in other words, the difference is roughly that between a continuous and a non-continuous action.

But it may be said that the range of this construction is so limited, the total number of its occurrences so small, that it is hardly worth while disputing about it. That might be almost granted, if grammarians had not been so obsessed with this idea of 'general' and 'particular' prohibitions that they have imported it, quite unwarrantably, into Greek syntax, and tried to establish a rule that μὴ ποίει is 'general' and μὴ ποιήσῃς is 'particular'. So far as I know not a single passage can be quoted to prove that μὴ ποίει is 'general', whereas almost every other page of Plato, Euripides, or Aristophanes will supply an example that shouts to the unprejudiced reader that μὴ ποίει means 'do not do what you are doing', or, more briefly, 'desist'; it implies that the forbidden thing is being done, while μὴ ποιήσῃς conveys no such implication. Let one example suffice. In the *Apology*, 20 E, Socrates says, καί μοι, ὦ ἄνδρες, μὴ θορυβήσητε, and, ten lines farther on, καὶ ὅπερ λέγω, μὴ θορυβεῖτε'. Why the change? Not because 'the request is more general', as Adam's note says; what a 'more general' request for a hearing can mean is beyond my comprehension; but because in the intervening ten lines the jury *has begun* to shout Socrates down.

Read your authors with an open mind, and you will see that in all cases μὴ with the present imperative means 'desist', and consign the rule about 'general' and 'particular' prohibitions to the dust-bin.

SOME LATIN INSCRIPTIONS. II

By R. H. BARROW

10. *A 'rhetor'.*

D(is) M(anibus) M. Romani Iovini rhetoris eloquii Latini.
Conditus hac Romanius est tellure Iovinus,
docta loqui doctus quique loqui docuit.
Manibus infernis si vita est gloria vitae,
vivit et hic nobis ut Cato vel Cicero.
M. Junius Severus et Romania Marcia heredes bene merenti fecerunt. *Near Rome* 7773.

11. L. Marius L(ucii) filius Vitalis, vixi ann. XVII d(ies) LV, consummatus litter(is).
Parentes suasi artefic(ium) discerem.
Discessi ab urbe in praetorio Hadriani Aug. Caesar(is),
Ubi dum studerem, fata inviderunt mihi
Raptumque ab arte tradiderunt hoc loco.
Maria Malchis, mater infelicissima, filio sanctissimo.
Rome 7741.

12. *A 'mimarius'.*

D. M. Positus est hic Leburna, magister mimariorum, qui vixit annos plus minus centum; aliquoties mortuus sum,[1] set sic nunquam . . . *Siscia* 5228.

[1] i.e. on the stage.

Some Children

13. L. Aponius Abascantus v(ixit) a(nnos) IV, m(enses) VI; T. Flavius Anicetus et Aponia Syrilla issulo[1] et delicio suo fecer(unt). *Rome* 8544.

[1] = 'ipsulo', 'his own little self'.

14. D. M. Corneliae Annian(a)e filiae iam garrul(a)e, bimul(a)e nondum, quae vixit anno uno m(ensibus) III d(iebus) X, dulcissim(ae) parentes f(ecerunt) d(e) s(uo).[1] *Rome* 8488.

[1] 'put up this monument from their savings'.

15. Daphnus et Chryseis, Laconis liberti, Fortunato suo; v(ixit) a(nnis) VIII; balneo Martis piscina[1] perit.

Rome 8518.

[1] 'swimming bath'. *CRH.*, p. 116.

16. Memoriae M. Noni Placidi; v. a. XXVII m. VIII d. XII; ab anno aetatis suae XII oculis patentibus vidit nihil. Nonii Placidus et Severin(a) parentes filio b(ene) m(erenti).

Rome 8479.

Husbands and Wives

17. D. M. Scriboniae Hedone Q. Tampius Hermeros coniugi karissimae fec(it), con[1] qua vix(it) an(nis) XVIII sin(e) querella, cuius desiderio iuratus se post ea(m) uxore(m) non habituru(m). *Pisae* 8461.

[1] 'cum'.

18. Dis Manibus Meviae Sophes C. Maenius Cimber coniugi sanctissimae et conservatrici, desiderio spiritus mei, quae vixit mecum an(nos) XIIX menses III dies XIII, quod vixi cum ea sine querella; nam nunc queror aput manes eius et flagito Ditem, aut et me reddite coniugi meae, quae mecum vixit tan concorde[1] ad fatalem diem. Mevia Sophe, impetra, si quae sunt Manes, ne tam scelestum discidium experiscar diutius. Hospes, ita post obitum sit tibe[2] terra levis,[3] ut tu hic nihil laeseris,[4] aut, siquis laeserit, nec superis comprobetur nec inferi recipiant, et sit ei terra gravis. *Rome* 8190.

[1] 'tam concorditer'. [2] 'tibi'. [3] Cf. no. 5. [4] i.e. 'do damage to the tomb'.

19. Animae sanctae colendae Dis Manibus s(acrum). Furia Spes L. Sempronio Firmo coniugi carissimo mihi. Ut cognovi, puer puella obligati amori pariter; cum quo vixi tempori minimo, et quo tempore vivere debuimus, a manu mala diseparati sumus. Ita peto vos, Manes sanctissimae, commendatum habeatis meum carum et vellitis[1] huic

[1] i.e. 'velitis'.

indulgentissimi esse horis nocturnis, ut eum videam et etiam me fato suadere vellit, ut et ego possim dulcius et celerius aput eum pervenire. *Rome* 8006.

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20. D. M. s. Victori et Urbicae Aug(usti) ser(vis) parentibus piissimis, Iucundus Aug. lib(ertus) adiut(or) a cognitionibus, quo usque spatium permisit, renovavit. Victor vix(it) ann(is) CII, Urbica autem vix. ann. LXXX, h. s.[1]

Carthage 1680.

Iucundus was a freedman assistant in the department of the imperial civil service which dealt with 'cognitiones', i.e. legal points on which the Emperor was asked to pronounce. He restored, as far as space would allow, the tomb of his parents, who had remained slaves in the imperial service. Iucundus himself probably lived in Rome. [1] See no. 5.

21. A. Memmio Claro A. Memmius Urbanus[1] conliberto, idem consorti carissimo sibi. Inter me et te, sanctissime mi conliberte, nullum unquam disiurgium fuisse conscius sum mihi. Hoc quoque titulo[2] superos et inferos testor deos, una me tecum congressum in venalicio, una domo liberos esse factos, neque ullus unquam nos diunxisset nisi hic tuus fatalis dies. *On the Via Appia* 8432.

[1] They were freed by the same 'dominus', and both took his 'nomen'.
[2] See no. 9.

VERSION I

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan . . .

In Xanadu did Kubla Khan
A stately pleasure-dome decree:
Where Alph, the sacred river, ran
Through caverns measureless to man
Down to a sunless sea.
So twice five miles of fertile ground
With walls and towers were girdled round;
And there were gardens bright with sinuous rills
Where blossom'd many an incense-bearing tree;
And here were forests ancient as the hills,
Enfolding sunny spots of greenery.
But O, that deep romantic chasm which slanted
Down the green hill athwart a cedarn cover!
A savage place! as holy and enchanted
As e'er beneath a waning moon was haunted
By woman wailing for her demon-lover!
And from this chasm, with ceaseless turmoil seething,
As if this earth in fast thick pants were breathing,
A mighty fountain momently was forced;
Amid whose swift half-intermitted burst
Huge fragments vaulted like rebounding hail,
Or chaffy grain beneath the thresher's flail;
And 'mid these dancing rocks at once and ever
It flung up momently the sacred river.
Five miles meandering with a mazy motion
Through wood and dale the sacred river ran,
Then reached the caverns measureless to man,
And sank in tumult to a lifeless ocean:
And 'mid this tumult Kubla heard from far
Ancestral voices prophesying war!

The shadow of the dome of pleasure
Floated midway on the waves;

VERSION I

στρ. α' ἐν Κνωσῷ βασιλεὺς Μίνως
ὑψίπυργον ἀνάκτορον
κτίσε ποθ' ἁβροδίαιτον,
οὗ μάκαρος ποταμοῦ ῥοαὶ
διὰ μυχῶν ἀνοφερῶν ἐλίνευοντ'
ἀνθρώποισιν ἀπείριτων
εἰς ἀνήλιον οἶδμα.
γύας δ' ἐνταῦθ' εὐρυχόρους
τότ' ἔζωσε βωλακίας
τείχεσιν ὑψόθι καὶ πύλαις.
ἐν κήποις δ' ἑλισσομένων
πηγῶν ἔκλαμπε γάνος,
κἀξήνθησε βριθομένη
παμπληθὴς ὕλη λιβάνῳ·
κἄνθ' ἦσαν παλαιογενῆ
δένδρεα, κάλυκεσιν ἐν μέσοις
λαμπραὶ λείμακες ἤνθουν.

ἀντ. α' καὶ δὴ θαῦμα τι χάσματος ἦν
χλωροῖς δείνον ἐν οὔρεσιν
ἀκιερὸν εὖ τε κέδροισιν·
ἄβροτος ἱρὸς χῶρος ὅδ' ἦν,
ἄβατος, ὡς τις ἐπεὶ γυνὴ μήνης
φθινούσης ὁλοφύρεται
φροῦδον Πᾶνα σύνευνον.
κἀκ φάραγγος ἀφροῦσ' ἀεί,
χθὼν ὡσεί ξυνεχῶς πυκνοῖς
ἄσθμασιν ἔπνεε, πρὸς βίαν
πηγὴ 'ξῆλθ' ἀμαιμακέτη.
κἂν αἰψηραῖσι ῥοαῖς
μελλούσαις περ, ὥστε χάλαζ'
ἂψ βληθεῖσ', ἥλλοντο πέτραι
μεγάλαι, χὼς καρφαλέαι
στάχυες, εὖτ' ἂν ἀνὴρ ἄχνας
λικμητὴρ ἀναβάλλῃ.

στρ. β' κἀν πέτραισι χορευούσαις
ἀεὶ κῦμ' ἀνέθρῳσκεν ἀγνὸν
πηγῆς ἐξ ἐρευγομένης.
ὁ δὲ πλάνῃ ῥοῦς ξὺν μακρᾷ
δινεῖ λαβυρινθώδης,
κατ' ἄλση τ' ἐπειγόμενος
κατὰ νάπας τ' ἔμολ' εἰς μύχους
ἀμέτρους λαοῖς μερόπων,
καὶ λαβρῶς κυλινδόμενος
πέσεν εἰς εὐδιανὸν
πόντου πλάκα σὺν πατάγῳ.
κἀν μεγάλῳ κελάδῳ βασιλεὺς τότε
τηλόθεν ἀμφαμένην προγόνων
πόλεμον ἔκλυ' ὀμφήν.

ἀντ. β' κἀν μέσαις ποτάμου δίναις
εἴδωλον μελάθρου σκίαζον

Where was heard the mingled measure
From the fountain and the caves.
It was a miracle of fair device,
A sunny pleasure-dome with caves of ice
A damsel with a dulcimer
In a vision once I saw:
It was an Abyssinian maid,
And on her dulcimer she play'd
Singing of Mount Abora.
Could I revive within me
Her symphony and song,
To such a deep delight 'twould win me,
That with music loud and long,
I would build that dome in air,
That sunny dome! those caves of ice!
And all who heard should see them there,
And all should cry, Beware! Beware!
His flashing eyes, his floating hair!
Weave a circle round him thrice,
And close your eyes with holy dread,
For he on honey-dew hath fed,
And drunk the milk of Paradise.

S. T. COLERIDGE.

αἴγλας ῥεύματος φέρεται
—τὸ δ' ἄρ' ἀγαλμ' ἦν τἄνακτος—
κἄνθ' ἀνδρὲς ἐπήκουον
σύναυλον τιν' ἁρμονίαν
ἀλλομένων ἀπὸ κυμάτων
ἀπό τε κενθμώνων ἀνοφερῶν,
τερπνὴν σύγχυσιν μελέων.
παλάμαις ἦν τι μᾶλλον
ἢ κατ' ἀνδρὰ θαυμασίαις
ᾠκοδομημένον· ἔνθα γὰρ ἦν δόμος
ἡλιόβλητος, ἔσωθε δ' ἔνην
χιονοβόσκον ἄντρον.

στρ. γ' ἦ 'φάνη πρίν μοι κατ' ὄναρ
παρθένος κιθαριστρὶς
ἁβρὰν γᾶς ἐκ Λιβύης,
καὶ χορδὰς ἐλέλιξε δὴ
κληίζουσ' Ἀβόρας ὄρος.
Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἴθ' ἔγωγε νῦν
ὧδ' ἀνεγείροιμι πάλιν
κραδίᾳ κεῖνο μέλος
καὶ φώνημα σύναυλον.
τότε κέαρ ἐμὸν εὐφροσύνη
πελόθεν ἵλαρὸν ἂν κατέχοι,
ὥσθ' ὕμνων μετ' ἀπαύστων
αὖθις τάδ' ἐν αἰθέρος κ'
αὔραις οἰκοδομοίην.

ἀντ. γ' ἦ κάν οὐρανῷ μέλαθρον
θείην χ' ἡλιοεῖδες
κἄντρα στίλβοντα πάγῳ·
κἀκούοντες πάντες ἐμήν
ὄμφην ταῦτ' ἐπίδοιεν ἄν
καὶ κελαδοῖεν ἀθρόοι·
φεῦγ' ἀνέδην, φεῦγ' ἀνέδην·
ἴδε τὴν μαρμαρυγὴν
ἀστράπτουσαν ἀπ' ὄσσων·
περί τε βάλλει τοὺς πλοκάμους·
μύσατε δ' ὀφθάλμους ὁσίως·
τρὶς κυκλοῦτε τὸν ἄνδρά·
νέκταρ γὰρ ἐληλόκεν
καὶ πίνει γάλ' Ὀλύμπου.

Cf. Eur. I.T. 1089–1151.
H.F. 673–700.

C. M. BOWRA.

VERSION II

Nor less it pleased in livelier moods
Beyond the bounding hill to stray,
And break the livelong summer day
With banquet in the distant woods:
Whereat we glanced from theme to theme,
Discussed the books to love or hate,
Or touched the changes of the State,
Or threaded some Socratic dream.
But if I praised the busy town,
He loved to rail against it still;
For, 'ground in yonder social mill
We rub each other's angles down,
And merge', he said, 'in form and gloss
The picturesque of man and man.'
We talked: the stream beneath us ran,
The wine-flask lying couched in moss. TENNYSON.

Nec minus interdum laeto nos pectore montis
Vicini fines exsuperare juvat;
Et procul in silvis epulantes sub Jove puro
Frangimus aestivos, otia longa, dies.
Res ibi nunc illas, nunc has, percurrere mos est;
Dicere, 'Cur placet hic, displicet ille liber?'
Quaerere num populo bene res Romana novetur,
Socraticae chartas explicuisse domus.
Urbanos libuit mihi si laudare labores,
Protinus ille urbes increpitare solet:
'Versati inter nos illic exstantia morum
Deterimus, frugum ceu mola grana terit;
Quodque homines proprium distinxit limite pulchro,
Fit species eadem, fit nitor unus', ait.
Talia disserimus; Liris delabitur infra;
Molliter in musco Chia lagena jacet. H. L. DRAKE.

SOLUTION TO ACROSTIC NO. 8

CarpathiuM
L aodami A
E urope N
O ccipu T
P apili O
AutomatoN
T ibull I
R it U
AesculapiuS

H. W.

MARTIAL VII. lxxxiii

EUTRAPELUS tonsor dum circuit ora Luperci
Expingitque genas, altera barba subit.

Hydra

When Handiman shaves Herr von Wolf
So heavy is the going
That when at last he towels his chin
Another beard is growing.

XII. lxxxviii

Tongilianus habet nasum: scio, non nego. Sed iam
Nil praeter nasum Tongilianus habet.

Son Panache

Lord Tony's nose, I must allow,
Could sneer whene'er it chose.
But what has poor Lord Tony now?
Why goodness! only nose.

VI. lxxviii

Potor nobilis, Aule, lumine uno
Luscus Phryx erat, alteroque lippus.
Huic Heras medicus 'Bibas caveto:
Vinum si biberis, nihil videbis.'
Ridens Phryx oculo 'Valebis' inquit.
Misceri sibi protinus deunces,
Sed crebros iubet. Exitum requiris?
Vinum Phryx, oculus bibit venenum.

A Matter of Glasses

Figgs notoriously was beery,
One eye gone, the other bleary.
Doctor said 'No drinking, mind:
Beer will send you fully blind.'
Figgs, he grins and says 'Good bye,
That is all, my blinking eye.'
Promptly orders strongest ale
Five XX, and by the pail.
Will you see the final phase?
Figgs has his glass, his eye a glaze.

T. W. M.

COMPETITION

THE examiner reports that no version of the Latin Prose was worthy of the prize. 'Competitors', he writes, were far too tender with the English. They treated the piece in small divisions instead of as an organic whole, and so translated sentence by sentence the nearest they could get to the English words without viewing the piece in proper perspective. Where paraphrase was attempted it was very wide of the mark. There were many syntactical mistakes, and sometimes sentences ended with two or three verbs consecutively.'

The following version may be of interest.

Qui cum iamdudum nobis discesserit, animo tamen concipere possumus quid eveniat si rursus ille lucem revisat, Sileneum istum voltum, insuetos proferens gestus, strenuus, indomitus, gravis, impiger, vocis illecebris rusticisque facetiis aures colloquentium oppugnans. Quotiens enim nobis cum sermonibus intersumus, cum legimus, cum disceptanti alicui aut dicenti adsistimus, hoc gratissimum desiderantibus foret, portas aperiri, Sophronisci filium intrare. Quotiens furoribus, criminibus, libellis paene obruti, grammaticorum inter minutias, inter philosophorum iurgia quae mille atque octingentos iam annos verborum ineptiis sapientiam obscuraverunt, summo denique cum taedio inter eos versati qui quid sibi vellent, de quo contenderent, pariter nescirent, hoc aliquando homines exoptandum habuissent, unam tantum horam Socratem adesse. Nempe gratissima illa vox esset audita quae acri inquisitione unicuique ostenderet quid sciret, quid ignoraret; quid vere crederet, quid credere profiteretur; quae eadem ceteris, quae teneret adversa. Sane nihilominus dissentirent homines, sed ita ut graves viri prudentesque essent; inanium illarum nugaciumque sententiarum obliti quibus irae controversiarum semper ingravescunt.

A prize of half a guinea is offered for a rendering of the following passage into Latin Elegiacs. Competitors, who must be under 19 years of age, should send their entries to the Joint Editor at the City of London School, E.C. 4, not later than July 31st. There is no need to send a copy of the English, but envelopes should be marked 'Elegiacs'.

Dark to me is the earth. Dark to me are the heavens.
  Where is she that I loved, the woman with eyes like stars?
Desolate are the streets. Desolate is the city,
  A city taken by storm, where none are left but the slain.

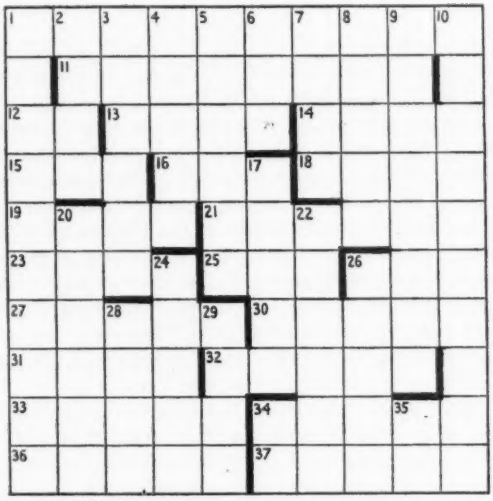
Sadly I rose at dawn, undid the latch of my shutters,
  Thinking to let in light, but I only let in love.
Birds in the bough were awake; I listen'd to their chaunting;
  Each one sang to his love; only I was alone.

This, I said in my heart, is the hour of life and of pleasure.
  Now each creature of earth has his joy and lives in the sun,
Each in another's eyes finds light, the light of compassion,
  This is the moment of pity, this is the moment of love.

WILFRED SCAWEN BLUNT.

CROSSWORD

Flaccus



• Denotes omission of final letter.

'12 & 1 dn. 28 32 15 27 10• 1 ac. 14 rev.'

The quotation would serve as the motto for the dining saloon of a liner.

ACROSS

11. Should lead to dumping of gold and jewels.
13. Varius's forte.
16•. Where Europe may hang.
18•. —angustis animosus.
19. Petillius was this (nom.)
21. Extraordinary official for a mind to be.
23. Accompanies lyre (on wall).
25. Trilingui.
26•. Snow on Soracte.
30•. She swore our love would be this.
31. Voltus ubi—Affulsit.
33. Fish probably untasted by Ofella.
34 rev. After first half of 21 a tripe-lover's disrespectful treatment of Alps.
36. She must be fierce.
37•. Paullus had a hundred.

DOWN

2. What the ilex got from its cuts.
3. Concan after too much horse-blood.
4. Dancer.
5. Where to find Horace (2 words).
6 & 34dn•. Broken on way to Brundisium.
7. Assayed by Virtus.
8. Wise man or ankle.
9. Hot wind.
17. Depends on usage.
20 rev. Ultimate effect of onyx on depression.
22. Though sometimes found with 21 does not change its gender.
24•. Horace a far-seeing this?
35 & 26 rev. Duisadce to Sapieds.
29• rev. Used in long division sums.

T.W.M.

REVIEWS

Ancient Italy and Modern Religion, being the Hibbert Lectures for 1932. By ROBERT SEYMOUR CONWAY. Cambridge University Press, 1933. Pp. xiv+150. 10*s.* 6*d.*

This volume will be treasured by all who have come under the influence of Professor Conway's teaching. It contains Hibbert Lectures of a very unusual type. The subjects of the chapters are 'Pictures of pre-Roman Religion' (the ritual of the Iguvine Tables, the worship of the Venetic goddess Rehtia, modern survivals); 'Orpheus in Italy' (with some penetrating remarks on the *Somnium Scipionis*); 'The Etruscan Influence on Roman Beliefs'; 'Breaking through the Maze' (the influence of Greek religion on Rome, with special reference to Virgil); 'Modern Problems in the Eyes of an Augustan Poet' (Virgil and the story of Dido); 'The Road to Christmas' (pagan origin of the festival, influence of the Fourth Eclogue). The connecting thought is that the influence of primitive beliefs still survives and that great Roman teachers, especially Virgil, have fused such beliefs with Greek teaching and with their own reflections on things divine and human in such a way as to suggest many lessons never more needed than in the present day.

Professor Conway's many disciples will already be familiar with most of the contents of the volume; but that will not lessen their eagerness to possess it, firstly because he never repeated himself without adding something fresh and valuable, and above all because they will be glad to have in collected form so many characteristic utterances of one whose teaching and personality live gratefully in their memories. Here we find the man himself as we knew him, with his lightly-worn weight of learning, his freshness of outlook, his ardent conviction of the 'great inheritance' which the past has left us, and his power to strike sparks from unpromising material. We find also his pet prejudices, always lovable and stimulating. With him all roads led to Virgil. A reference to the index will suffice to indicate his almost unlimited conception of the poet's significance. If it is an obsession, it is a very charming one, and those who know Virgil best, even if they cannot always see eye to eye with Conway, will be the first to acknowledge that his acute mind and passionate sympathy have thrown light on many dark places and revealed new riches in the master's treasure-house. The book is a worthy memorial of a great enthusiast and an inspiring teacher.

Latin for To-day; Second Course. By MASON D. GRAY and THORNTON JENKINS, edited by F. DALE. London: Ginn & Co. Pp. 444. 4*s.* 6*d.*

With the aim of this book, as of its predecessor, we are in entire sympathy. The second year, when the enticement of a new subject is past, is always the hardest to equip. This volume will probably take its place among the tolerable attempts to provide for it. Yet we cannot but feel that the method is too laborious. We approve the constant practice of connected reading, and we are aware that this requires an early introduction to forms and idioms; but it

is not necessary to master all grammar at the first meeting. Much that could be lightly handled in class, and could enrich the pupil's experience in anticipation before it is reached in the ordered progress of grammatical study, is here explained in print, to the confusion of young minds. In fact the amount of explanation and supplementary information would suggest that the book was designed for use upon the Dalton Plan; only the confused order—why, for instance, insert sections on the Dative and the Gerund between the Present and Imperfect Subjunctive?—and the ponderous style of the commentary, would make it a difficult book for children of thirteen to use unaided.

The reading-matter is instructive. It is no new device to re-write old tales from mythology and history in pseudo-classical Latin, in order not so much to coat the pill as to mix the doses, though the purpose is not usually so frankly stated. Many of these narratives are lively and attractive, and the marriage-scene is good. But was it necessary to tell and bowdlerize the story of Virginia? In a book heavy for the mind as well as for the satchel the *Motor Bus* is pure refreshment. But surely it is waste to squander the *Bankolidaid* on people who have not read a line of Virgil. Nevertheless the book will find its enthusiasts and will serve them well. There is advantage in training children early to seek their own instruction from the printed page.

Election by Lot at Athens. By the late JAMES WYCLIFFE HEADLAM. (Prince Consort Dissertation, 1890.) Second Edition revised by D. G. MACGREGOR. Pp. xxvi+215. Cambridge: University Press, 1933. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

A reprint of a book which made a great reputation when it appeared, but has since been lost sight of. Its object is to show that election by lot at Athens was not a compromise to attempt to satisfy two conflicting parties, nor a religious anachronism, nor a piece of Utopian optimism which had to be carefully safeguarded to avoid disaster, but a genuine and sensible democratic plan which worked. It is especially valuable for its sensible remarks about the functions of the Boule, and for its clear and careful descriptions of all the offices to which election by lot was made. The author never twists facts to prove a thesis, and never treats a possibility or probability as a certainty. A careful, honest, and thoroughly readable book with which all students of Greek History should make themselves familiar. The Editor leaves the text intact, and prints some twenty pages of valuable notes in an Appendix.

The Mediterranean in the Ancient World. By J. HOLLAND ROSE, LITT.D. Pp. xi+184. Cambridge: University Press, 1933. 8*s.* 6*d.* net.

After a splendid introductory chapter on the rise of seafaring in the Mediterranean, the author goes on to sketch the naval policy of the Greeks, Phoenicians, and Romans, and to prove his main contention that the Romans alone of the three founded a lasting Empire because they alone realized the importance of the sea. The book is lucid and interesting in spite of its compression. As a makeweight to a mass of facts, the author often illustrates in a readable manner subjects connected with his theme, such as the difficulty of navigating a great grain-ship, or the curious loathing felt by the Romans for the sea which served them so well.

Homer and Mycenae. By MARTIN P. NILSSON, DR. THEOL. ET PHIL. Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology. Pp. xii+283; 52 illustrations and 4 maps. 21*s.* net.

Professor Nilsson, who has already thrown so much light on Mycenean religion and the origin of Greek mythology, sets out in this book to examine the relationship between Homer and the Mycenean age. After reviewing the contributions of previous scholars to the 'Homeric question', he reconstructs the history of the Heroic Age of the Aegean world by assembling the evidence from archaeology, the dialects, and Hittite and Egyptian records. He then examines the Homeric poems to determine those elements which, either on archaeological or linguistic grounds, may be shown to belong to widely differing periods. His conclusion is that the earliest and the latest elements are inextricably blended. 'We ought to compare Greek epic poetry to a dough which was constantly rekneaded. . . . In kneading the dough, new and contemporary elements were added to the old ones.' An examination of the origin and transmission of epic poetry among other peoples leads up to a survey of the development of the Greek epic. Professor Nilsson would postulate 'a great poet who infused new life and vigour into epic poetry, putting the psychology of his heroes in the foreground and planning a comprehensive composition under this aspect'. This great poet was the author of the *Iliad*, though the poem as we have it contains later additions. In the age of colonization another great genius appeared, the poet of the *Odyssey*, whose poem, while connected with the old Trojan cycle, is more concerned with contemporary interests and events—the adventures of seafaring merchants and colonists. Finally, the author examines the Mycenean elements in the State organization of Homer, and in the mythology of the poems.

This is not a book for the novice. Its arguments are at times intricate and it has few of the graces of style. But the wide learning, penetrating insight, and sober judgement of the author make it a book which no serious student of Homer or of the Mycenean age can afford to neglect.

A History of Delos. By W. A. LAIDLAW, M.A. Oxford: Basil Blackwell. Pp. 308; 8 photographs and 1 map. 18*s.* net.

Professor Laidlaw in this book presents us with a valuable history of an island which, in very different ways, played an important part in the great days of both Greece and Rome. It is perhaps ironic that what was a great religious centre when Greece dominated this part of the Mediterranean should become a great commercial centre when the domination had passed into Roman hands. Professor Laidlaw lucidly explains how this transition came about, and perhaps the greatest service he does to the reader is that he collects and sets out in intelligible form the results of the labours of many scholars and archaeologists, in particular of the French excavators in Delos. Copious references are given in notes at the end of each chapter, and there are appendices on chronology, the neutrality of Delos, wages and prices in the third century, and the art of Delos. The eight photographs are beautifully reproduced, and there is

an adequate though hardly elegant map. Though the price is rather high, the work is a valuable contribution to the study of a somewhat neglected part of the ancient world.

From Olympus to the Styx. By F. L. and PRUDENCE LUCAS. Cassell, 1934. Pp. 363, with 16 plates and a map. 12*s.* 6*d.* net.

An account of a journey through Greece, by two writers whose interest does not end with the battle of Chaeronea, but who know and love the country through the tortured Middle Ages, and through her protracted and often inglorious struggles for freedom, and can even forbear to sneer at her in her new lease of life. So they look for and find many things besides temples and beehive tombs; and since they have a charming style and an extensive knowledge which can always produce the apposite instance or quotation, they have written a delightful book.

Everyday Life in Ancient Greece. By C. E. ROBINSON. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933. Pp. 159; illustrations, maps. 3*s.* 6*d.*

This is a short but uncommonly fresh and stimulating study of ancient Greek life, which will be valuable not only to the schoolboy but to older readers. The author writes with vigour and imagination, and his knowledge both of classical authorities and of the actual terrain of Greece gives life to his account; nor does the abundant detail obscure the spirit of the whole. Beginning with the Heroic Age, he later gives chief attention to Athens and Sparta, and the many illustrations include some beautiful photographs of Greek scenery as well as such lively antiquities as the 'hockey match' relief from the wall of Themistocles. The maps are excellent. The translations from the *Iliad*, in irregular rhymed octosyllabic verse, are not a success; but the book as a whole definitely is.

The Composition of Plato's Apology. By R. HACKFORTH, M.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1933. 7*s.* 6*d.* net.

The date of the Platonic *Apologia Socratis*; its author's own purpose in composing it then; to what extent and in what passages it reproduces the actual self-defence of Socrates; where, how, how much, and why it exceeds and endeavours to supersede that self-defence—these are the main questions discussed by Mr. Hackforth. Deeply read in the extensive literature (including the most recent, which is considerable), he seems, alike in controversy and in the development of his own reconstruction, to be more consistent, searching, shrewd, and cogent than any previous expositor. Plato, he thinks, felt impelled to give his master a better defence than Socrates had given himself; hence insertion of 'self'-encomia. And Plato loathed Meletus; hence complete transformation of Socrates' interrogation of him, so as to make Meletus look an utter fool. And Plato tended to interpret Socrates in terms of Plato; particularly in regard to abstention from politics.

Duly converted from moderate Burnetism, I accept all this and more in detail as in substance, and commend it accordingly to all serious students. Mr. Hackforth has surely overlooked one Platonism in the 'second' speech,

the political pessimism of 37 D 1–2 (cf. 28 A 6–9); and however came he to write ἐλεγχτικός (with 'elenchtic') five times over?

Any one who may feel that the interrogation of Meletus in the Xenophontic *Apology* is, however brief, dignified and reasonable on both parts, while the Platonic is trivial, tiresome, and even silly, will not attach the less importance to Mr. Hackforth's conclusions. What emerges as much as ever is the bigness of Socrates, concerning whose elemental piety this book reveals behind its learning and caution a glow of sympathetic insight.

A.Y.C.

Byzantine Architecture and Decoration. By J. ARNOTT HAMILTON, M.A., PH.D. London: Batsford, 1933. Pp. 172, plates 71, figures 47. 18*s*.

Ancient Architecture: A Commentary in Verse. By CHESTER H. JONES, M.A., F.S.A. London: Batsford, 1933. Pp. 210+illustrations and maps. 15*s*.

This addition to Batsford's Historical Architecture Library must represent the fruit of many years' work, for in it Dr. Hamilton mentions well over 300 churches with brief descriptive accounts of many of them. This array, rather overwhelming, is responsible for a lack of proportion which makes it difficult with one or two exceptions to pick out the really outstanding examples of Byzantine church architecture, though it increases the value of the book as a work of reference. The subject is treated geographically: each section is preceded by a brief historical note, just enough to give the proper setting; the first chapters explain in lucid detail the genesis and technicalities of the style. Describing the profound influence of Constantinople and the Church, with its ceremonial linked with Court etiquette and emotional appeal, the author traces the Hellenistic and Syrian influences, the one splendid and realistic, the other formal and ascetic, the preoccupation of Byzantine Art with the future, and the allegorical scheme of interior decoration which became stereotyped in all its churches. He discusses the development of its chief architectural feature, the dome covering a square, which he finds in existence long before the Christian era, into which it passed perhaps through the Palace of Diocletian at Spalato. Having mentioned the rival theories, he deals rightly at greater length with St. Sophia which 'reflects the splendour of heaven in the magnificence of earthly art'. His chapters on Constantinople and Greece are especially interesting, and in his account of the small Cathedral at Athens he mercifully refrains from criticizing the modern and large Cathedral which overshadows it and boasts upon its porch words only too true, 'How dreadful is this place' (ὡς φοβερὸς οὗτος ὁ τόπος). This book contains superb plates with about 130 illustrations and nearly 50 plans, giving an admirable survey of the whole subject.

The second and unusual volume is a memorial to the memory of a young architect who aspired to share the fame of Lucretius and Virgil in other fields, by writing in verse a history of Ancient Architecture. As Doctor Johnson said of women preaching, 'You are surprized to find it done at all.' Perhaps verse is too complimentary a term for the queer jumble of rhythms and metres, sometimes on the Gilbertian model, in which instruction is conveyed—one must resist the

temptation to quote, for that might convey a wrong impression of the great store of information which the writer possessed or of the historical development in which he was so interested. There is a brief introduction surveying different styles, a summary of contemporary history, then passages of verse and a glossary. The great charm of the book is its collection of black and white drawings and really beautiful ornamental maps, displaying great power of craftsmanship, but after all, one feels it is really only 'a museum piece'.

SOME AMERICAN BOOKS

T. Macci Plauti Menaechmi. Edited by N. MOSELEY, PH.D., and M. HAMMOND, B.LITT. Harvard University Press. London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. Pp. 131. 7*s*.

This edition is designed for the first year of an American college course; it is well printed, equipped with an introduction of the 'potted' variety, and notes on syntax and metre. The notes at the bottom of each page are mainly concerned with translation and fail to comment on such interesting phrases as *ante solem occasum* (l. 437); they tell us that 'the materials for a choice, five-course dinner for three in January, 1932, would cost approximately, $5.00, exclusive of drinks'; that the Graii came from Epirus; and that Aristophanes had no insight into contemporary problems. This is not an example of American scholarship at its best.

Marcus Agrippa. By M. REINHOLD. New York: W. F. Humphrey Press, 1933. Pp. 202. $2.50.

The comparatively slight information which we possess from literary sources has been carefully collected by the author and supplemented from epigraphy so that an imposing array of authorities is presented—quite bewildering in its range and copiousness: at least one page has one line of text and forty-six lines of notes! Through this mass of scaffolding one can discern something of the statuesque figure of Agrippa whose influence on history seems strangely small considering his undoubted abilities and almost-imperial position. The work has been done with terrific conscientiousness, and it will be of value as a source-book for many disputed and minute points of early imperial history. Dr. Reinhold wastes no time on the graces of literary style and tells his story in a direct, if somewhat jejune, manner.

Excavations at Olynthus; Part VII; The Terracottas found in 1931. By DAVID M. ROBINSON, PH.D. (The Johns Hopkins Studies in Archaeology, No. 20.) Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press; London: Humphrey Milford, 1933. 45*s*.

This book, if taken with its predecessor Part IV, *The Terracottas of Olynthus found in 1928*, is to be valued as presenting for study the figurines and plastic vases found in a provincial Greek city. The bulk of them are thought to be local and, as was to be expected, show no very striking artistic merit, though it is perhaps not fair to judge them from this point of view on the evidence

provided by the illustrations. If we except the three plates in colour, it would probably be hard to find a worse set of reproductions.

The chief interest of the collection lies in the presence of certain types hitherto thought of Hellenistic origin yet now shown to be prior to 348 B.C., the date of the destruction of Olynthus.

Neoi: a Contribution to the Study of Greek Associations. By C. A. FORBES. American Philological Association, 1933. Pp. viii+75.

More than half a century has elapsed since the publication of L. M. Collignon's study entitled *Les collèges de 'Neoi' dans les cités grecques*. During that time the available evidence has constantly and rapidly increased so that the existence of such societies is now attested for 70 cities instead of for the 18 registered by Collignon, while our knowledge of the whole subject of Greek associations has been immeasurably widened and deepened by the researches of Ziebarth, Poland, and other scholars. A fresh treatment of the Neoi was therefore urgently needed, and Professor Forbes, the author of *Greek Physical Education*, was specially qualified to undertake the task. He has written an admirably careful monograph, not exciting, it is true, yet eminently readable, in which he deals with the history, organization, status, and activities of the Neoi, young men who had recently emerged from the ranks of the epheboi and formed bodies to which the nearest analogy is offered by the Y.M.C.A. or the Old Boys' Club. The disappointing thing is that their intellectual interests seem to have taken a very subordinate place beside their devotion to athletics and gymnastics.

BOOKS RECEIVED

[This notice does not preclude the possibility of later review.]

Elements of Latin Prose Composition. By G. W. R. TREADGOLD, M.A. Cambridge: University Press, 1934. Pp. xxxviii+248. 3*s*. 6*d*. [Also in two parts, 2*s*. each.]

The Epigrams of Callimachus. Translated by G. M. YOUNG. Oxford: University Press, 1934. Pp. 141. 6*s*.

The Hadrianic School: a chapter in the history of Greek Art. By J. M. C. TOYNBEE. Cambridge: University Press, 1934. Pp. 254+54 plates. 42*s*.